

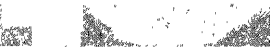
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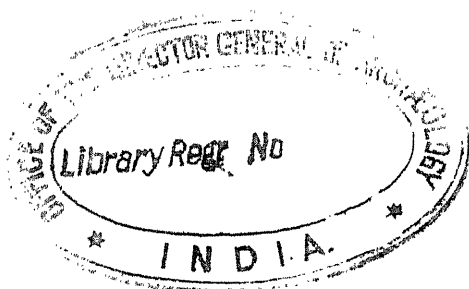
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THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.





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24944

EDITED BY

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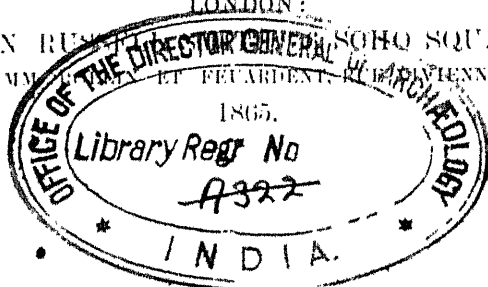
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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

1.

ACCOUNT OF A COLLECTION OF ROMAN GOLD COINS,

PRESENTED BY EDWARD WIGAN, ESQ., TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
COINS AND MEDALS, BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE national cabinet of coins and medals has been recently enriched by the munificent donation of the Roman gold coins forming part of the collections of Edward Wigan, Esq., no donation of such value, save that of the entire collection of J. F. W. de Salis, Esq., in 1859, having ever been made to the Museum during the lifetime of the donor.

This series of coins, from its well-known merits and its intrinsic value, well deserves a few special remarks, and will doubtless much interest those readers of the Numismatic Chronicle who are fond of the study of Roman coins. It may be considered the pick of some of the grandest collections during the last century, the cabinets of Pembroke, Devon, and Thomas having furnished many of the finest specimens. Nor must we omit to notice the collection of M. Dupré, which was bought by Mr. Wigan, and which included most of the greatest rarities. M.

Dupré's note, attached to the list of 163 coins bought by Mr. Wigan, may as well be here given *verbatim*.

"Commencée en 1800, à l'époque et à l'occasion de la découverte du dépôt d'Ornois, elle s'est accrue de choix faite dans celui d'Ambenay et dans les collections Incisa, Wiczay, Thomas, Devonshire, Pembroke, c'est à d., dans des ventes et des circonstances qu'on ne peut espérer voir se reproduire qu'à de longs intervalles.

"L'examen des médailles prouve que pour la rareté des têtes, des revers, et sous le rapport de la perfection de l'art, à chaque époque de la série, elles ne peuvent guères être surpassées, et quant aux évaluations de Mionnet, dont les bases sont prises d'après des ventes antérieures à 1800, il est évident qu'elles sont devenues trop faibles, eu égard au taux de l'argent, au nombre des concurrents, etc., etc., on sait assez qu'aux ventes publiques d'Ennery, de Rothelin, des tiroirs en bloc s'adjugeaient à 15 et 20 sols par médaille d'arg^t, et à 3 f. audessus des poids pour l'or. Il en était de même pour la série grecque: le Cabinet de France obtint pour 30 m. fr. la célèbre Collection Pellerin, bien supérieure à celles Wiczay et Allier vendues chacune 80 m. fr.

"Si nous passons à l'examen des raretés de notre série, qui sur le petit nombre de 164 pièces Impériales et Consulaires offre près de 100 règnes, nous trouvons dans les Familles :—

Antestia, unique.

Domitius Ahenobarbus, inconnu à Morel.

Brutus, cité seulement du Cabinet de Vienne; les 2 Brutus de première conservation.

Mescinia, *Numonia*, *Rustia*, second ex. connu,¹ toutes trois ignorées de Morel.

Vipsania, tête d'Agrippa que Mionnet n'avait pas encore rencontrée, et sur laquelle il faut consulter le catalogue d'Hedervar, et sortie du Vatican, donnée par le Pape.

Dans les Impériales :—

Cn. Pompeius.

J. Caesar, restitué, ex. d'Ennery.

Lepidus, de très beau style, ce qui est très rare.

¹ I do not know if there ever existed another identical specimen of this coin, for Cohen does not mention it. Perhaps M. Dupré alludes to the one engraved in Riccio with the two busts jugate, which according to Cohen is entirely an invention of this numismatist. (*Méd. Cons.*, p. 282, note.)

Auguste, couronné d'olivier, et en buste analogue probablement à celui dédié dans quelque temple, et de style supérieur à l'époque.

Octavie, *Lucius Cæsar*, fils d'Agrippa, tête d'enfant, qui ne peut représenter Auguste, qui ne reçut ce titre qu'après 30 ans d'âge.

Galla et *Titus*, restitués.

Julie de Tite, du plus beau style, et fleur de coin, ainsi que *Domitia*.

Nerva, restitué, *Trajan père*, et les 3 femmes de Trajan; les 3 revers de *Trajan* et *Hadrien* les plus rares, surtout le VOTA PUBLICA.

2 *Sabine*, chef d'œuvre d'élégance, *Ælius*, F ** (Fleur de coin).

Didius Julianus, *Scantilla*, la seule qui ait paru depuis 1800, *D. Clara*,² et enfin, *Albinus*, dont un seul exemplaire se trouvait à Ornois.

Diaduménien; *Orbiana*, rapportée de Chypre par M. Guys, Consul à Beryte, et fleur de coin.

Vient ensuite, *Uranus*, unique, un *Maximin*, de conservation la plus remarquable, et dont il a été offert mille francs.

Herennius, *Hostilianus*, *Æmilianus*, 4 *Postumes*, dont un petit médaillon tête de face, *Victorinus*, un *Tetricus*, vu de face, *Claudius II.*, *Urbica*, *Julianus*, *Carausius*, *Allectus*, *Helena*, celle-ci frappée sous Constantin ce que prouve sa fabrique et l'orthographe du revers, *Maxentius*, et enfin, deux quinaires seule connue de *Carinus* et de *Galerius Maximinus*.

"Je termine en exprimant le souhait que cette réunion de raretés ne soit point dispersée, bien persuadé qu'il serait difficile de recomposer une seconde aussi remarquable sous tant de rapports.

"P. D. [*Prosper Dupré*].

"20 Mars, 1854."

This wish may be said to have been fulfilled, for all M. Dupré's coins (162 in number), with the exception of 45, have been selected for the Museum, and these 45 do not include any of the greatest rarities, as the Museum possesses better and finer specimens.³

² This coin was returned by Mr. Wigan.

³ The famous coin of Constans with the figures LXXII. in the field, was previously exchanged by Mr. de Salis with

In the selection made for the British Museum, there are no less than 223 coins taken, many of them only existing in this collection, and the rest previously wanting in that of the Museum ; 72 others have also been picked out on account of their magnificent preservation, and though the Museum already possesses specimens of their types, yet those of Mr. Wigan are so superior, that it has been thought advisable to retain them for the national cabinet. The gross value of these coins, as given by M. Cohen, in his recent work on Roman coins, amounts to 75,935 francs for the 223 coins, and 3,989 francs for the 72, making a total of 79,924 francs, or about £3,200 ; but there is not much doubt that many are undervalued.

I now proceed to describe the 223 coins selected, with references to the works of M. Cohen,⁴ for those coins which need not be described at length. Those only existing in the cabinet of Mr. Wigan will be marked with a * ; those unpublished, or only quoted by Cohen from *Caylus*, *Tanini*, and others, will be marked with a Φ. In order further to guarantee the authenticity of most of these coins, I have added a capital **D** (*for Dupré*), after the description of the 117 pieces from his collection. I may add, that of

Mr. Wigan, and is now in the Museum collection ; these figures only occur upon two other gold coins—one of Constantine I. (British Museum), and the other of Constantius Gallus (Sabatier, *Icon. Byz.*, pl. xcvi., 8), and also on some copper coins of Constantius II. and Constantius Gallus (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 226 and 39 ; Sab., *Des Mon. Byz.*, p. 63 ; Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ii. pp. 249, 257).

⁴ *Description générale des Monnaies de la République Romaine, communément appelées Médailles Consulaires*, 4to, Paris, 1857 ; *Description historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain, communément appelées Médailles Impériales*. 8vo. vols. i.—vi., Paris, 1859—1862.

these 223 coins, there are no less than 94 only to be found in this collection, of which 32 are either unpublished or quoted from the works just alluded to.

1. CAMPANIAN COIN (?), marked VX behind the head of Mars (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, No. 1, engraved, pl. xliii. No. 1). D.
2. CORNELIA FAMILY. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, No. 38, engraved, pl. xv.; Cornelia, No. 17.)
3. SEXTUS POMPEY, POMPEY THE GREAT, AND CNAEUS POMPEY. *Rev.*—PRAEF. CLAS. ET ORAE MARIT. EX. S. C. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, No. 27; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1: engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxxiv., Pompeia, No. 10; *Méd. Imp.*, pl. i.) D.

JULIUS CAESAR.

* Φ 4. *Obv.*—III. Head of Piety, to the right, crowned with oak; a necklace round her neck.

Rev.—CAESAR. Trophy fixed on the trunk of a tree, holding in right hand a shield, on which is apparently a double anchor, and in the left the Gallic trumpet; to the right an axe. (Pl. I., No. 1.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Julia, No. 17; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 11), from the *Catalogue du Cab. des Médailles de 1685*. The type is known in *silver*, and is engraved in Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, pl. xx., Julia, 15).

Respecting the letters or numbers IIT (or reading them the other way LII, a few words may not be out of place. Vaillant has interpreted them by *secundum tropæum*, and Havercamp regards them simply as a monetary sign. M. Cohen⁵ does not admit either of these explanations, especially as the same figures occur on two silver *denarii*, and on a *quinarius*. Eckhel decides nothing, but gives as his opinion (which is accepted by M. Cohen), that they are perhaps the initial letters of *Imperator iterum*. "This in-

⁵ *Méd. Cons.*, p. 157.

terpretation," says M. Cohen, "would be completely satisfactory, if a coin cited by him, and which Morell has placed among the Goltzians, really exists, and if so, is authentic. Its description is, IMP . ITER (*Imperator iterum*). Head of Venus to the right, with diadem. Rev.—C. CAESAR. C. F. (*Caius Caesar Caii filius*). Trophy, with a chariot, on which is a scythe; to right, a captive king." M. Cohen continues—"Modern *savants* explain quite differently these initials. Cavedoni [*Ragguaglio*, &c., p. 93, note 76], after the following phrase of Solinus, a writer of the third century, 'Cæsar signis collatis *quingages et bis dimicavit*,' pretends that the number LII alludes to the fifty-two battles gained by Cæsar; but putting aside the question whether the ancients were in the habit of expressing so metaphysically their ideas, one must be very sure that, at the time these coins were struck, Julius Cæsar had already gained fifty-two battles. Again, Nicolas Damascenus assures us that Julius Cæsar, in three hundred and two battles, waged in Asia and Europe, was never vanquished. The result is that these letters or figures are still an enigma, and do not appear likely to be so soon explained."

This account is very unsatisfactory, and no further explanation is offered by M. Cohen in the first volume of his *Médailles Impériales*, where these coins are again described. It has, however, been suggested by Borghesi⁶ that perhaps the enigmatical letters LII represent *figures*, and that they designate the age of Julius Cæsar (viz. 52 years) when the coins were struck. This seems corroborated by the coins of Antony, struck at Lugdunum, on which are the numerals XL. and XLI., which also, in all

⁶ *Œuvres Numismatiques*, Paris 1862, vol. i. p. 499.

probability, relate to the age of this latter.⁷ Moreover, we have positive proof that the form **L** stands for **L**. (50) in the coins of the Norbana family, on which it frequently occurs, leaving no doubt as to its meaning.⁸ Now Julius Cæsar, according to authorities, was born in B.C. 100,⁹ and died in B.C. 44.¹⁰ This latter date is certain; but in order to consider his age as fifty-two in B.C. 49, when these coins were struck, it is necessary to assume that he was born two years earlier.¹¹ We know that he received the Consulship in B.C. 59, and had he been born in B.C. 100, he would only have been forty-one years of age when he undertook the duties of this office, the legal age being forty-three;¹² whereas if we allow time for the requisite inferior offices of ædile and prætor to have been gone through by him previous to his being made consul, he must have been born in B.C. 102, which would make the year of age on these coins suit the year in which they were struck. It is, however, to be remarked, that these regulations were not always observed, for many previously had been made consuls before the legal age: M. Valerius Corvus, when only twenty-three;¹³ Scipio Africanus the elder, when not thirty;¹⁴ Pompey before he was thirty-six,¹⁵ &c.; but the facts are historically recorded, and it is, in Cæsar's case, as Mommsen has already observed, difficult to

⁷ Eckhel, vol. vi. p. 38; for their representation, see Cohen, *Méd. Cons.* pl. iv., Antonia, Nos. 20, 21.

⁸ Cf. **LXXXIII**. on a coin of the Norbana family, engraved, Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxx., Norbana, No. 3.

⁹ Appian, *Civ.* ii. 106; Macrobi., *Sat.* i. 12.

¹⁰ Suet., *Cæs.* 88; Appian, *Civ.* ii., 149; Plut., *Cæs.*, 69.

¹¹ Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. iii. p. 15, note.

¹² Cic., *Phil.* v. 17.

¹³ Liv. vii. 26.

¹⁴ Liv. xxviii. 38.

¹⁵ Cic., *Pro leg. Manil.*, 21.

conceive how he could have been invested with all the curule offices two years before the legal period, and no mention made of it. In consequence, the above proposed interpretation of these hitherto enigmatical figures is the best that has at present been offered.

The type of these coins is worthy of a few remarks, and has nowhere, as far as I can ascertain, been properly illustrated or explained. It is certainly Gallic in character, and refers to the conquests of Cæsar in Gaul. The coin itself, as well as those engraved Cohen, pl. xx., Nos. 14, 16, was struck in Italy, in B.C. 49. The helmet on the trophy has horns, and is similar to that on the coins of Seleucus I., and other Syrian and Macedonian kings,¹⁶ and still more so to two represented in a painting

¹⁶ The remarks following, which are enclosed within inverted commas, have been obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Poole :—

“On the coins of Lysimachus, Alexander is represented with the *horns of a ram*. The same is the case with the head on the coins of Alexander Ægus, and with that of Arsinoë Philadelphî—whether I. or II., or both, is not yet determined—on the silver pentadrachms and gold staters. A young head with *ram's horns* is common on the copper coins of the Ptolemies. It is generally, and, I think, conclusively, held that the *horn* on these coins is that of Ammon, given to Alexander as the young Ammon, and taken by the Ptolemies as kings of Egypt.

“The coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes, originally struck in Asia, and those of Seleucus Nicator, represent those kings with the *horns of a bull*. Perhaps the symbolism of earlier coins may help us to an explanation of this case. On the coins of the Persian satraps a lion is often represented tearing another animal, usually a bull. The lion is to the present day the symbol of Persian power; the bull must represent the enemies of Persia in a general or abstract sense, or a special conquered nation or state. This question can only be decided by a thorough examination of the ancient Persian coinage, to discover whether the representations are general or individual; but it may be observed in favour of the latter view, that the first royal portrait occurs upon a Persian coin. Supposing that

of a trophy found at Herculaneum.¹⁷ Diodorus Siculus, in speaking of the Gauls, says, that they wore brass helmets having large projections from them, and bearing an immense image; for either *horns are attached to them*, or the faces of birds or quadrupeds stand out on them in high relief.¹⁸ Plutarch also relates that the Cimbri had upon their helmets the open mouths of terrible wild beasts, and the faces of animals of peculiar

view to be correct, the bull would probably represent Babylonia, the only great power which was overthrown by the rise of Persia, for the case of the Medes was an absorption rather than an overthrow. As Alexander, to court the Egyptians, pretended to be the son of Ammon, and the horns of Ammon became a symbol of his succession in Egypt, it does not seem unlikely that Demetrius and Seleucus—the latter of whom made Babylon for a time the seat of his empire—adopted the *bull's horns* to please the Babylonians."

In all probability it is a *bull's horn* which may be seen on the denarii and second brass of Elagabalus. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, vol. iii. p. 519.) The Macedonian shield on the silver tetradrachms of Antigonus I. Gonatas is adorned with the head of Pan with *goat's horns* (Eckhel, vol. ii. p. 123); perhaps he adopted the head of Pan to recall the *panic* among the Gauls under Brennus, in the war with the Achæan League (Pausan., x. 23; Eckhel, *l. c.*) *Goat's horns* also occur on the helmet of Philip V. on a denarius of the Marcia family (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxvi., Marcia, No. 5), and a very large *goat's horn* protrudes from a helmet on the reverse of the tetradrachms of Tryphon (Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 234). To enter further into the reasons of their adoption would here be out of place. It is sufficient to have noticed the different varieties.

¹⁷ *Museo Borbonico*, vol. vii. tab. vii.

¹⁸ Κράνη δὲ χαλκᾷ περιτίθενται μεγάλας ἐξοχὰς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντα καὶ παμμεγέθη φαντασίαν ἐπιφέροντα τοῖς χρωμένοις. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρόσκειται συμφυῇ κέρατα, τοῖς δὲ δρύνων ἢ τετραπόδων ζώων ἐκτετυπωμένοι προτομαί.—Lib. v. 30, 2. There is also a nation mentioned by Herodotus, lib. vii. 76 (whose name has been restored by Wesseling as "Chalybians"); who wore brazen helmets, and above them the ears and *horns of an ox* made of brass (πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὧτά τε καὶ κέρα προσῆν βοδὸς χάλκεα). For the "Chalybians," see Rawlinson, Herod., vol. iv. p. 72.

form, which, raised on high with winged crests, gave them a greater appearance.¹⁹

The axe, which it will be seen is surmounted with the grotesque head of an animal, is doubtless a pontifical emblem, as Julius Cæsar was, at this time, *Pontifex Maximus*. It usually goes by the name of *secespita*, which, according to the statement of Antistius Fabeo, preserved by Festus,²⁰ was a long iron knife (*cultrum ferreum*) with a round solid ivory handle, bound at the hilt with gold and silver, studded with nails of Cyprian brass, and used by the Flamines, Flaminicæ Virgines, and Pontifices at their sacrifices; also that it was called *secespita à secando*. Paulus Diaconus, however, in his epitome of Festus,²¹ says, that some consider it to be an axe (*securis*), others a celt (*dolabra*),²² and others a knife (*cultellus*); whilst Servius²³ says that Virgil alludes to it in the lines—

“stellatus Iaspide fulva
Ensis,”

as he could not get the word *secespita* into the rhyme. It appears, then, that the name *secespita*, as applied to the axe on coins, only rests on the authorities of Festus and Paulus.

The curious looking object in the left hand of the trophy is more difficult to describe. It appears to be a kind

¹⁹ Κράνη μὲν εἰκασμένα θηρίων φοβερῶν χάσμασι καὶ προτομαῖς ἰδιομόρφοις ἔχοντες, ἃς ἐπαιρόμενοι λόφοις πτερωτοῖς εἰς ὕψος ἐφαίνοντο μείζους.—*In Mar.* 25. Part of the Roman army are also said to have worn on their helmets three purple or black feathers, a cubit in height (ὡς πηχυαλοῖς τὸ μέγεθος).—Polyb. *Hist.*, lib. vi. 23, 12.

²⁰ Festus, ed. Müller, 4to., 1839, pp. 348, 349.

²¹ Ed. Müller, p. 336.

²² Cf. *securis dolabrata*, Pallad., *De re Rust.*, i. 43.

²³ Ad Virg., *Æn.*, iv. 462.

of tube slightly curved towards the end, which is ornamented with the head of an animal. The Roman trumpet, known under the name of *lituus*, which differed from the *cornu*²⁴ and the *tuba*,²⁵ certainly partially answers to this description, but it does not seem to be anywhere described with a "monster-headed" extremity. Now, the coin being struck to commemorate the Gaulish conquests, it is reasonable to suppose that the object represents something Gallic, and the trumpet called *carnyx* by the Gauls exactly answers to its appearance on Roman coins. Eustathius, in his commentary to the eighteenth book of Homer, in speaking of the trumpet (σάλπιγξ) which there occurs, names six different varieties, to all of which I shall allude, and the third variety he describes as follows:—"The third, the Gallic, is formed of cast metal, and is not very large, having the wide [or lower] end of the trumpet *in the form of an animal*, and the tube on which the trumpeters play of lead; it is of a shrill tone, and is called by the Celts *carnyx*."²⁶ The Gallic trumpets are also described by Diodorus Siculus, who says, "they use barbarous trumpets after their manner, which when blown gave forth a horrid sound, which is well adapted to create warlike terror;"²⁷ and

²⁴ Hor., *Carm.*, lib. ii., Ode i. l. 17.

²⁵ Hor., *Carm.*, lib. i., Ode i. l. 23.

²⁶ Τρίτη, ἡ Γαλατικὴ. χωνευτὴ, οὐ πᾶν μεγάλη, τὸν κῶδωνα ἔχουσα θηριόμορφόν τινα καὶ αὐτὸν μολύβδινον, εἰς ὃν ἐμφυσῶσιν οἱ σάλπιγες· ἔστι δὲ ὀξύφωνος, καὶ καλεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν κελτῶν κάρνυξ. Eustath. ad Hom., *Il.*, xviii. 219, vol. ii., Leipzig, 1829, p. 65. [p. 1139, l. 57]. Eustathius' fourth variety of trumpet is also "monster-headed," the extremity bearing the face of an ox (ὁ κῶδων βοὸς ἦν προτομή). He says it is of Paphlagonian origin, rough-toned and ἀναφυσσῆτή (blown on like a flute?), and is called βόϊνος.

²⁷ Σάλπιγγας δ' ἔχουσιν ἰδιοφνεῖς καὶ βαρβαρικός· ἐμφυσῶσι γὰρ ταύταις καὶ προβάλλουσιν ἤχον τραχὺν καὶ πολεμικῆς ταραχῆς οἰκεῖον.—Diod. Sic., lib. v., 30.

Polybius speaks of the number of trumpeters, both of horn and brass instruments, in the army of the Celts.²⁸ In both these latter cases it will be seen that the word *σάλπιγξ* is employed, a name which seems better to answer to the *tuba*,²⁹ though there is a *Τυρσηνικὴ σάλπιγξ*, described by Eustathius as his sixth variety, having the extremity bent (*κώδωνα κεκλασμένον ἔχουσα*)³⁰, which the late Professor Ramsay³¹ rightly understood to be the *lituus*,

²⁸ Ἀναρίθμητον μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ τῶν βυκανητῶν καὶ σαλπικτῶν πλῆθος.—Polyb., *Hist.*, lib. ii. 29. The *carnyx*, as in use among the Britons, may be seen on a gold coin of Eppillus (Evans, *Coins of Anc. Britons*, pl. iii., No. 11) and on two gold coins of Tas-ciovanus (Evans, pl. v., Nos. 10, 12). It also occurs on a Gaulish silver coin engraved in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1855, pl. v., No. 9. It may likewise be met with on other coins of J. Cæsar (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xx., Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 16). According to Mr. de Salis, Nos. 11 and 13 were struck in Spain, the former in B.C. 45, the latter in B.C. 49; whilst No. 12 was struck in the East in B.C. 48–47. They all allude to Cæsar's victories in Gaul.

²⁹ The *cornu* is also called in Greek *στρογγύλη σαλπιγξ*, “a circular trumpet” (Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.*, s. v. *Cornu*). According to Eustathius [his second variety], the *στρογγύλη* was used by the Egyptians, and invented by Osiris, being called by them *χρούη*, and employed to call the people together to sacrifice. I cannot find that Sir G. Wilkinson makes mention of this fact, but he says (*Pop. Acct. of Anc. Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 127) that Osiris invented “the pipe made of the straw of barley,” and that if this was his only invention, it does not speak well for his musical talents. The word *χρούη* occurs in Coptic. (Stephanus, *Lex.* s. v.) Eustathius' fifth variety is “of reed,” and of Median origin. Respecting his first, he says, that it was invented by Athena, and hence she was worshipped by the Argives as *Σάλπιγξ Ἀθηνᾶ*.

³⁰ The Tyrrhenian origin of the trumpet is spoken of by many Greek and Roman writers, and Sophocles (*Ajax*, 17) makes Ulysses speak of the words of Athena as reminding him of a “brazen-mouthed Tyrrhenian trumpet” (*χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς*). The scholiast explains *χαλκοστόμου* by *ὀξύφωνο-τάτης*, “very shrill,” and Eustathius (*l. c.*) speaks of it in the same terms (*λίαν ὀξύφωνος*).

³¹ Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.*, s. v. *tuba*.

called by Lydus,³² "the sacred trumpet" (ἱερατικὴ σάλπιγξ). Hence Diodorus and Polybius would very naturally call the bent trumpet of the Gauls by that name. Hesychius calls the Gallic trumpet κάρνον,³³ and Liddell and Scott (s. v.) have assumed it to be a nominative, and call it τὸ κάρνον; but as in Hesychius it may be an accusative, it is just as probable that it was called ὁ κάρνος. They also give the Latin equivalent as *cornu*; this may be correct as regards *sound*, but is certainly not so in reality, as the above remarks will show. They further add that the Gallic trumpet was called ὁ κάρνυξ, and give the authority of Diod. v. 30. It will be seen, as I have above shown, that this word is not in Diodorus; it, however, occurs in the explanatory note to this passage in the Wesseling edition, to which Liddell and Scott refer. For those who have not this edition a small point like this is worthy of notice.

The shield (θυρεός) in the right hand of the trophy which is ornamented with, what appears to be, a double anchor, but which is perhaps a thunderbolt badly designed (cf. Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xiii., Coelia, No. 4), doubtless represents one of the long oval shields, made the height of a man and variously adorned, alluded to by Diodorus,³⁴ Livy,³⁵ and Virgil.³⁶ The form θυρεός, which has been applied to them, is, according to Eustathius, derived from θυρά, "a door," and they were so called on

³² *De Mensibus*, iv. 50.

³³ Κάρνον, τὴν Σάλπιγγα Γαλάται. Hesych., *Lex.*, s. v. Κάρνον.

³⁴ "Ὅπλοις δὲ χρώνται θυρεοῖς μὲν ἀνδρομήκεσι, πεποικιλμένοις ἰδιότροπως.—Diod. Sic., lib. v. 30. Cf. παραμήκης θυρεός.—Diod. Sic., lib. v. 39; also Paus. i. 13; viii. 50; x. 20, 21.

³⁵ Liv. xxxviii. 17, 21.

³⁶ "Scutis protecti corpora longis."—Virg., *Æn.*, viii. 662.

account of their great size.³⁷ They do not appear to have been very broad, for the naked bodies of the bearers were easily hit by the javelins of their opponents.³⁸ A similar diamond-shaped shield occurs on a silver coin of Julius Cæsar (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xx., No. 16) with bars, ornaments which also may be seen on the Gaulish coins of Verotalus (*Rev. Num.*, 1860, pl. vi., Nos. 1—6). It likewise is found on coins of Verica (Evans, pl. ii., No. 9), and on coins of Tasciovanus (Evans, pl. vi., No. 2). No Gaulish or British shields of this shape have as yet been discovered.

5. J. CÆSAR. *Rev.*—A. HIRTIVS PR. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Julia, No. 20; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 2; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xix., Hirtia.)

6. J. CÆSAR. *Rev.*—L. PLANO. PRAEF. VRB. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Julia, No. 23; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 16; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxviii., Munatia, No. 2.)

JULIUS CÆSAR AND M. ANTONY.

* Φ 7. *Obv.*—CAESAR DIC. Head of Julius Cæsar, to the right, laureated; behind, a sacrificial vase.

Rev.—M. ANO. IMP. Head of M. Antony, to the right, bare; behind, the *lituus*. (Pl. I. No. 2.)

This coin is quoted by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 1) from the *Catalogue du Cab. des Méd. de 1701*. The legend of the reverse is given as M. ANTON. IMP., a form occurring on the silver coins (*Méd. Cons.*, pl. iii., Antonia, No. 2). This coin exactly corresponds to the one described in

³⁷ Οἱ ἀσπίδος εἶδος φασὶ τὸν θυρεὸν, παρωνυμούμενον θύρα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος.—Eustath. ad Hom., *Od.*, ix. 240, vol. i., Leip., 1829, p. 339 [p. 1626]. Θυρά, in Herod. ii. 96, means "boards put together like a door," i. e., "a raft;" hence θυρεός, Liddell and Scott, s. v.

³⁸ Liv. xxxviii. 21; Polyb., *Hist.*, lib. ii. 30.

Thomas's Sale Catalogue, p. 31, No. 223, and said to be from the Trattle collection.

8. J. CÆSAR AND AUGUSTUS. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Julia, No. 36; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 2; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xx., Julia, No. 21.)

BRUTUS.

9. *Obv.*—BRVTVS IMP. Head of Brutus, to the right, bare within a wreath of laurel.

Rev.—CASCA LONGVS. Trophy between two prows of ships on which arms. In *field*, to left, apparently a L, but in probability part of the trophy. (Pl. I. No. 3.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Junia, No. 30; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 3; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxiv., Junia, No. 17; *Méd. Imp.*, pl. ii.).

Whether this coin only exists in the collection of Mr. Wigan I am unable to say, as Cohen publishes it in two places (*Méd. Cons.*, Junia, No. 30; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 3), as being in the *Cabinet des Médailles*, whilst in another place (*Méd. Cons.*, Servilia, No. 22) he states that it exists only in the *Cabinet de M. Wigan*. This coin, however, certainly appears to be the one sold at the Pembroke Sale (*Cat.*, No. 350), even to the description of the L on the reverse, whereas the specimen engraved by Cohen omits this peculiarity. Either it has been accidentally omitted, or there is another example of this coin in Paris.

The Casca Longus on this coin was one of the legates of Brutus in Asia, and is said to have aimed the first stroke at Julius Cæsar.^{38*} He had a brother who was likewise a conspirator.

CASSIUS.

- * 10. *Obv.*—M. AQVINVS LEG. LIBERTAS. Head of Liberty, to the right, with diadem.

^{38*} Dion. Cass., xliv. 52.

Rev.—C. CASSI. IMP. Tripod with the *cortina* and two branches of laurel. (Pl. I. No. 4.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Cassia, No. 17; engraved, pl. xi., Cassia, No. 11).

This coin belongs to Caius Cassius, one of the murderers of Julius Cæsar. It was struck in B.C. 42. According to Cohen, after Borghesi, the title of general (*Imperator*) was given to him after his victory over the Rhodians, and the tripod with *cortina* alludes to the sacred rites over which he was *quindecimvir*.

LEPIDUS.

*11. *Obv.*—M. LEPIDVS IIIIVIR R. P. C. Head of Lepidus, to the right, bare.

Rev.—L. REGVLVS IIIIVIR A. P. F. Vestal virgin, standing, to left, holding the *simpulum* and a spear. (Pl. I. No. 5.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Livineia, No. 8; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 3; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxv., Livineia, No. 7).

M. ANTONY.

*12. *Obv.*—M. ANTONIVS IIIIVIR. R. P. C. Head of M. Antony, to the right, bare.

Rev.—L. REGVLVS IIIIVIR. A. P. F. Anteon, son of Hercules, half-covered with a lion's skin, seated on rocks, facing, holding spear and club, and leaning on shield. (Pl. I., No. 6.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Livineia, No. 9; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 64; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxv., Livineia, No. 8).

The L. Regulus on these last two coins, who was a *quatuorvir*, a dignity inferior to that of *præfectus urbis*, a title occurring also on coins with the name L. Regulus (and who could not have been *quatuorvir* after having held office as *præfectus urbis*), must have been the son of this latter, and, consequently, his coins were struck about B.C. 38.

L. Regulus as *quatuorvir* also struck coins in company with Julius Cæsar (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, No. 7; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 29; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxiv., Livincia, No. 6) and Octavian (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, No. 10; *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 338, 339; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxv., Livincia, Nos. 9, 10). The letters A. P. F. on these last two coins, only occurring on the gold, signify *Auro Publico Feriundo*. The figure of Anteon (or more properly Anton) on the reverse of No. 12 bears allusion to Anton, the son of Hercules, from whom M. Antony boasted he was descended.³⁹

* 13. *Obv.*—ANT. IMP. IIIVIR. R. P. C. Head of M. Antony, to the right, bare; behind, the *lituus*.

Rev.—CN. DOMIT. AHENOBARBUS IMP. Prow of a ship, to the right; above, a star. (Pl. I., No. 7.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Antonia, No. 41; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 53; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xvi., Domitia, No. 6; *Méd. Imp.*, pl. ii.).

The Ahenobarbus here mentioned commanded a fleet against Domitius Calvinus, Octavian's captain, in B.C. 42, and, completely defeating him, was saluted *Imperator* in consequence. He deserted from Antony in B.C. 32, and died the same year.

* 14. *Obv.*—ANT. AVG. IIIVIR. R. P. C. Prætorian galley.

Rev.—CHORTIVM PRAETORIARVM. Legionary eagle between two standards. (Pl. I., No. 8.)

This coin is quoted by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Antonia, No. 106, and *Méd. Imp.*, No. 5) from *Mionnet*. The type is known in *silver*, and is engraved in Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, pl. vi., Antonia, No. 72).

The *cohortes Prætoriae* were instituted by Augustus as

³⁹ Plut., *Ant.*, 4, 36, 60.

a body-guard for himself; and as this coin must have been struck by Antony towards the end of his life, and during his quarrel with Augustus, it can only have been issued to gratify his vanity, and to emulate his troops. The same may be said of his numerous legionary coins, and of the one with the legend *CHORTIS SPECVLATORVM* (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Antonia, No. 107; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 3; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. vi., Antonia, No. 72), a body of men attached to the court of the Emperors, and employed as scouts. The *AVG.* on this coin signifies *Augur*.

15. ANTONY AND OCTAVIA. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Antonia, No. 58; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. v., Antonia, No. 34, and *Méd. Imp.*, pl. ii.) *D.*
16. OCTAVIAN. *Rev.*—CAESAR DIVI F. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Julia, No. 70; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 77; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxi., Julia, No. 42.)
17. AUGUSTUS. *Rev.*—AVGVSTVS. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 53.)
18. „ *Rev.*—IOV. TON. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 159.)
19. „ *Rev.*—S.P.Q.R.; on a shield, CL. V. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 219.)
- * Φ 20. *Obv.*—No legend. Head of Augustus, to the left, bare.
Rev.—ARMENIA CAPTA. Victory subduing a bull.

A variety of Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 46), on the obverse of which is the legend *AVGVSTVS*, and the head to the right, bare.

This interesting coin was struck in B.C. 20, in which year, in consequence of the Armenians complaining of Artaxias, the son of Artavasdes I., and requesting that his brother Tigranes should be placed upon the throne in his stead, Augustus sent Tiberius to depose Artaxias. This latter, however, died previous to the arrival of Tiberius, and Tigranes ascended the vacant throne without oppo-

sition, though Tiberius, it would appear, did not hesitate to claim all the glory of the exploit; for Horace⁴⁰ says:—

“Claudi virtute Neronis
Armenius cecidit;”

and the concluding lines of the quotation—

“Jus, imperiumque Phraates
Cæsaris accepit genibus minor”—

allude to the submission of the Parthian King Phraates in the same year, when the standards taken from Crassus were restored; a circumstance attested by several coins (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 84, 197—206, 297, 307, 330, and 361—363), on many of which a Parthian is represented on his knees presenting a military standard, thus further illustrated by Ovid⁴¹:—

“Parthe refers aquilas, victos quoque porrigis arcus
Pignora jam nostri nulla pudoris habes?”

This type also occurs on coins in connection with Armenia (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 299, 364).

The type of the coin we have above described is exceedingly interesting. There is no doubt that the bull (*taurus*) alludes to the *Taurus mons*, which runs through Cappadocia and Armenia towards the Caspian Sea; and “Victory conquering the bull” gives a fit emblematical representation of the “conquest of Armenia.”⁴² On Greek coins a bull usually represents a river; and Homer⁴³ speaks of the Scamander, casting out the bodies thrown into its bed by Achilles, *roaring like a bull* (μεμυκὼς ἥντε ταῦρος). It is curious that Nonnus, a native of Panopolis in Egypt,

⁴⁰ *Epist.* i. 12, 26—29.

⁴¹ *Fast.*, v. 593.

⁴² Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vi. p. 99.

⁴³ *Il.*, xxi. 237.

who flourished about A.D. 530, in describing the fight of Jupiter with Typhœus and the latter's defeat, says that Mount Taurus *bellowed like a bull* (*μυκίσατο Ταῦρος*).

* Φ 21. *Obv.*—CAESAR. Bust of Augustus, to the left, with olive wreath.

Rev.—AVGVSTVS. Cow, walking to the right.
(Pl. I., No. 9.) D.

The type of the cow is known, but this coin differs considerably from those in Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 59, 60).

The olive wreath on the head of Augustus is remarkable, and I am unable to ascertain if it may be found on any other Roman coin. The absurd woodcut given in Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*, p. 361, representing the olive crown from a coin of Lepidus, is calculated only to mislead, for it is taken from a *very small silver* coin struck at Cabellio, in Gaul. On it the olive wreath certainly occurs. There is, however, a Roman coin, of uncertain attribution, given by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Julia, No. 8, engraved, pl. xx.) to the Julia family, the reverse legend being EX S.C, and the type a cornu-copiæ, all within a laurel (?) wreath. Augustus is known to have conferred upon his soldiers the honorary wreath of the olive.⁴⁴ The coin was probably issued in B.C. 26 or 27, and was certainly struck in the East. The cow occurs upon other coins with his head bare, the workmanship being usually of a very fine style, and the head that of a young man. The bust on this coin, as M. Dupré has already remarked (see p. 3), is probably analogous to one dedicated in some temple.

⁴⁴ Dion. Cass., xlix. 14.

MONEYERS OF AUGUSTUS.

* 22. *Obv.*—CAESAR AVGVSTVS. Head of Augustus, to the right, laureated.

Rev.—C. ANTIST. REGIN. FOEDVS P.R. QVM GABINIS. Two priests, veiled, standing, sacrificing a pig on an altar. (Pl. I., No. 10.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Antistia, No. 15; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 289).

Antistius Reginus, a colleague of Antistius Vetus, who also issued coins with a similar reverse type to the one above described, but only in silver (engraved in Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. ii., Antestia, Nos. 6, 7), was moneyer of Augustus in B.C. 15. The type recalls the origin of the family *Antestia* from the town of Gabii in Latium, of which town, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a certain *Antistius Petro* was the most illustrious inhabitant. It also records a treaty concluded between Rome and the Gabii in the time of Sextus Tarquinius, to which Horace⁴⁵ alludes—

“foedera regum
Cum Gabiis aut cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,”

and which was preserved in the Temple of Jupiter Fidius at Rome. Dionysius relates that at this treaty a bull was sacrificed, but the coin represents a pig, which, as Livy informs us,⁴⁶ was generally employed at “a treaty.” A passage in Virgil⁴⁷ partially illustrates this coin:—

“Post iidem inter se posito certamine reges
Armati, Jovis ante aras, paterasque tenentes
Stabant; et cædâ jungebant foedera porc i,”

⁴⁵ *Epist.* ii. 1, 25.

⁴⁶ *Lib.* i., ch. 24.

⁴⁷ *Æn.*, viii. 639—641.

though the *armati reges* would better apply to the warriors represented on the coins of the Veturia family (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xli., No. 1), and on the gold coins usually, but probably erroneously, given to Campania (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xliv., Nos. 8, 9). The pig as an object of sacrifice, may likewise be met with on coins of the Sulpicia family (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxxviii., No. 1). On the coins of the Vibia family, a pig is represented walking before Ceres (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xli., Nos. 7, 8), to which goddess these animals were sacrificed. Other examples may be found, both of the pig and boar, on coins, but I hope shortly to call the attention of English numismatists to the *nummus regius* of Servius Tullius, published in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1859, by the Duke de Luynes, when I shall have more to say on this subject.

The archaic *Qum* for *Cum* is also remarkable.

23. *Obv.*—C. CAESAR IIIVIR. R. P. C. Head of Augustus, to the right, bare.

Rev.—L. REGVLVS. IIIIVIR. A. P. F. Æneas carrying Anchises. (Pl. I., No. 11.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Livineia, No. 10; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 339; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, Livineia, pl. xxv., No. 9).

To the L. Regulus mentioned on this coin I have already alluded under M. Antony.

The reverse type of this coin bears reference to the descent of the *Julia gens* from Æneas, who as father of Iulus or Ascanius⁴⁸ became the mythical ancestor of the

⁴⁸ "At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iūlo Additur."

See Servius *ad Virg. Æn.*, i. 267, where an attempt has been made to prove their identity.

race. A very rare silver coin of Julius Cæsar restored by Trajan, which is in the *Musée Danois*, also represents Æneas carrying Anchises (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 51). Hence Ovid :⁴⁹—

“Hinc videt Æneam oneratum pondere charo,
Et tot Iuleæ nobilitatis avos.”

24. *Obv.*—IMP. CAESAR TR. POT. IIX. Head of Augustus, to the right, laureated.

Rev.—L. MESCINIVS. Augustus, seated on an estrade, to the left, distributing prizes to two men standing beneath; in the *exergue*, AVG. SVF. P. (*Augustus suffimenta populo* [dedit]); on the estrade, LVD. S. (*Ludos sæculares* [fecit]); on the ground, a basket. (Pl. I., No. 12.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Mescinia, No. 6; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 351; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxvii., Mescinia, No. 7).

Mescinius Rufus was triumvir in B.C. 15. The first celebration of the *ludi sæculares* in the reign of Augustus took place in B.C. 17. They were usually celebrated every 110 years, but Claudius within sixty-four years afterwards assembled the people to games “that nobody ever had seen or would ever see again” (*quos nec spectasset quisquam, nec spectaturus esset*).⁵⁰ The letters SVF. occur also upon a large brass coin of Domitian (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 305), and have in both cases been interpreted “*Suffimenta*” (incenses), and, in all probability, correctly, for we learn from Zosimus⁵¹ that “the *quindecimviri*, previous to the games, seated on an estrade, distributed to the people [objects for] expiatory sacrifices (*καθάρσια*), and these consisted of torches, sulphur, and bitumen (*τὰντα δὲ ἐστὶ δᾶδες καὶ θεῖον καὶ ἀσφαλτον*).”

⁴⁹ *Past.*, lib. v. 563.

⁵⁰ Suet., *Claud.*, 21.

⁵¹ Lib. ii.

* 25. *Obv.*—Q. RVSTIVS FORTVNAE. Male head (?), helmeted and beardless, and female head, with diadem, facing each other.

Rev.—CAESARI AVGVSTO. Victory, flying, to the left, and placing on a base a shield, on which is S. C. (Pl. II., No. 1.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Rustia, No. 3; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 378; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxxvi., Rustia, No. 3).

Q. Rustius was monetary triumvir about B.C. 14. It is a question if the helmeted head on the obverse of this coin is a *male* one, especially as upon another coin of the Rustia family (*Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxxvi., Rustia, No. 2) there are two female heads, very similar, and the legend FORTVNAE ANTIAT. (*Fortune Antiates*). It is more than probable that both the heads represent Fortune—the one, as M. Cohen suggests, “*Fortune heureuse*,” and the other “*Fortune valeureuse*.” Antium was famous for its temple of Fortune, alluded to by Horace⁵² :—

“O diva gratum quæ regis *Antium*.”

This goddess was also much worshipped at Præneste, and the oracles known as the *Sortes Prænestinae* were associated with the worship of Fortune. A coin of the Plætoria family represents the bust of the divinity as a young man, with the legend SORS, and another gives the frontal of the temple of Præneste (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxxii., Plætoria, Nos. 6, 7). From an inscription in Gruter⁵³ we learn that “*Fortuna*” was one of the “*Dei Conservatores*” of the house of Augustus.

26. *Obv.*—M. SANQVINIVS IIIIVIR. Head of J. Cæsar, to the right, laureated; above, a comet.

⁵² *Carm.*, lib. i. ode 35. l. 1.

⁵³ P. xviii., No. 3.

Rev.—AVGVST. DIVI. F. LVDOS. SAE. Salian priest, clothed in the *stola*, with a helmet ornamented with two feathers, holding a winged *caduceus* and a round shield. (Pl. II., No. 2.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, J. Cæsar, No. 21 ; engraved, pl. i.) The type exists in *silver*.

This coin was struck by the triumvir Sanquinius about B.C. 14. The Salian priest alludes to the secular games celebrated by Augustus, which I have already mentioned above. (See No. 24.) Augustus was the first emperor who had his name inserted in the songs of the Salii (*Monument. Ancyr.*) The comet over the head of J. Cæsar commemorated, is explained by Suetonius⁵⁴ and Pliny,⁵⁵ who state that, at the games at which Augustus was consecrated his heir, a *stella crinita* appeared and shone for seven successive days, and that the people thought it was the soul of Cæsar received into heaven ; and for that cause a star is added to his likeness on the top of the head (*et hac de causâ simulacro ejus in vertice additur stella*). The comet, as a reverse type, occurs on several of the coins of Augustus (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxiii., Julia, Nos. 67—70). A star also shone over the head of Augustus on the eve of the battle of Actium, which was supposed to be that of Julius.

“Hinc Augustus agens Italos in prælia Cæsar
 patriumque aperitur vertice sidus.”⁵⁶

CAIUS CÆSAR.

* 27. *Obv.*—CAESAR. Young head, to the right, bare within a wreath of laurel. .

⁵⁴ *In. Cæs.*, 88.

⁵⁵ N. H., ii. 23.

⁵⁶ Virg., *Æn.*, viii. 678; 681.

Rev.—AVGVST. Large candelabrum within a wreath composed of flowers, bucrania, and *patera*. (Pl. II., No. 3.) **D.**

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 1.)

A similar type exists in silver. This coin was found at Ambenay, and is of immense rarity. These coins were formerly classed to Augustus, but have been restored to Caius Cæsar by M. Prosper Dupré.

M. AGRIPPA AND AUGUSTUS.

* 28. *Obv.*—M. AGRIPPA PLATORINVS IIIVIR. Head of Agrippa, to the right, with the rostral and mural crown.

Rev.—CAESAR AVGVSTVS. Head of Augustus, to the right, laureated. (Pl. II., No. 4.) **D.**

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Vipsania, No. 6; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 2; engraved, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxxviii., Sulpicia, No. 8).

Sulpicius Platorinus is only known as monetary triumvir. Mr. de Salis considers this coin to have been struck soon after the death of Agrippa, in B.C. 12. The rostral crown was given to Agrippa by Augustus for his defeat of Sex. Pompeius in B.C. 36. History makes no mention of the mural crown having been presented to him.

29. TIBERIUS. *Rev.*—PONTIF. MAXIM. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1.)

30. CLAUDIUS. *Rev.*—PRAETOR RECEPT. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 57.)

31. NERO. *Rev.*—IVPPITER CVSTOS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 12.)

32. „ *Rev.*—PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. VIII. COS. IIII. P.P. EX. S.C. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 49.)

33. „ *Rev.*—SALVS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 61.)

34. OTHO. *Rev.*—VICTORIA OTHONIS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 17; engraved, pl. xiv.) **D.**

35. VITELLIUS. *Rev.*—CONSENSVS EXERCITVVM.
(Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 8, engraved, pl. xiv.)
36. " *Rev.*—PONT. MAXIM. (Cohen, *Ib.*,
No. 28.) **D.**
37. VESPASIAN. *Rev.*—ANNONA AVG. (Cohen, *Ib.*,
No. 3; a very beautiful coin.) **D.**
38. " *Rev.*—IVDAEA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 107.)
39. " *Rev.*—PACI AVGVSTI. (Cohen, *Ib.*,
No. 131.)
40. " *Rev.*—VESTA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 212.)
- *Φ41. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. VESP. AVG. P.M. COS. IIII.
Head of Vespasian, to the right, laureated.
Rev.—IMP. (in *exergue*). Vespasian in a quadriga, to
right, holding in left hand a sceptre.
- A variety of Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 233), on the reverse of
which there is no legend.
- *Φ42. *Obv.*—IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG. TR.
P. Head of Vespasian, to the right, laureated.
Rev.—VICTORIA AVGVST. Victory flying to
right, holding a shield with both hands over her
head.
43. TITUS. *Rev.*—COS. V. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 18.)
- *Φ44. *Obv.*—IMP. TITVS CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG.
P.M. Head of Titus, to the right, laureated.
Rev.—TR. P. IX. IMP. XV. COS. VIII. P.P.
Crown placed on two curule chairs.
- Published by Cohen (*Ib.*, No. 99), from *Caylus*.
45. JULIA. *Rev.*—DIVI TITI FILIA. (Cohen, *Ib.*,
No. 3; engraved, pl. xvii.) **D.**
46. DOMITIAN. *Rev.*—GERMANICVS COS. XV. (Cohen,
Ib., No. 60.)
47. " *Rev.*—PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS. (Co-
hen, *Ib.*, No. 208.)
- 48, 49. " *Rev.*—No legend. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 274;
two varieties, the obverse legend commencing on
different sides of the head.)
50. DOMITIA. *Rev.*—CONCORDIA AVGVST. (Cohen,
Ib., No. 5.) **D.**

51. TRAJAN. *Rev.*—PARTHICO P.M. TR. P. COS. VI. P.P. S.P.Q.R. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 99.)
52. „ *Rev.*—P.M. TR. P. COS. V. P.P. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 162.)
53. „ *Rev.*—P.M. TR. P. COS. VI. P.P. S.P.Q.R. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 172.)
54. „ *Rev.*—S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 275.)
- *Φ 55. *Obv.*—IMP. TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P.M. TR. P. COS. VI. P.P. Bust of Trajan, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.
- Rev.*—PROFECTIO AVG. (in *exergue*). Emperor on horseback, to right, holding a long spear; an armed figure precedes him, and two follow. (Pl. II., No. 5.)

This coin commemorates the safe return of Trajan from the Parthian war in A.D. 114. A gold coin, with the legend PROFECTIO AVGVSTI, and the same type, excepting that three figures, instead of two, follow the emperor, is published by Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. iv. p. 431), but is not recognised by Cohen. This latter coin, however, is known in large brass (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 367).

56. J. CÆSAR RESTORED BY TRAJAN. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 54; engraved, pl. i.) D.
57. MARCIANA. *Rev.*—CONSECRATIO. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 3; engraved, pl. iii.)

MATIDIA.

58. *Obv.*—MATIDIA AVG. DIVÆ MARCIANÆ F. Bust of Matidia, to the right, with diadem.
- Rev.*—PIETAS AVGVST. Matidia, standing to left, placing her hands on the heads of Sabina and Matidia the younger. (Pl. II., No. 6.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 5).

This same type occurs on the large and only brass coins of this empress (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 9; engraved, pl. iv.).

LOTINA AND TRAJAN.

*Φ 59. *Obv.*—LOTINAE AVG. Bust of Plotina, to the right, with diadem.

Rev.—DIVO TRAIANO PATRI AVG. Bust of Trajan, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass. (Pl. II., No. 7.) D.

A variety of Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 1), the reverse legend of which is given as DIVO TRAIANO PARTH. AVG. PATRI.

HADRIAN.

*Φ 60. *Obv.*—HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P.P. Head of Hadrian, to the right, bare.

Rev.—ADVENTVI AVG. ITALIAE. The emperor, standing to right, facing Italy, who holds a *patera* and a cornu-copiae; between them a lighted altar.

A variety of Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 60), the obverse of which gives the bust of the emperor with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

*Φ 61. *Obv.*—HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P.P. Bust of Hadrian to the right, bare, with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—AEGYPTOS. Egypt reclining on the ground, to left, holding a *sistrum*, and placing the left arm on a basket; before her, an ibis on a *cippus*. (Pl. II., No. 8.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 74) from *Caylus*.

The type of this coin is peculiarly appropriate to the country of Egypt. The ibis was the sacred bird, and the *sistrum* was the instrument of all instruments, especially holy and sacred to the Egyptian deity, Isis. Hence Virgil⁵⁷ says—

“Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro;”

⁵⁷ *Æn.*, viii. 696.

and Propertius,⁵⁸ who, speaking of Cleopatra, sneers at its rattling noise in comparison with the Roman *tuba*—

“Romanamque tubam crepitanti pellere sistro.”

* Φ 62. *Obv.*—IMP. CAESAR. TRAIAN. HADRIANVS AVG. Bust of Hadrian to the left, laureated, with cuirass.

Rev.—FEL. AVG (in *field.*) P.M. TR. P. COS. II. Felicity standing to left, holding *caduceus* and *cornu-copiae*.

This is a variety from the specimen in the British Museum, described by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 212), and on which the head of the emperor is to the *right*.

* 63. *Obv.*—HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P.P. Bust of Hadrian, to the left, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—NILVS. The Nile reclining on the ground to the left, leaning on a sphinx, and holding a reed and a *cornu-copiae*; beneath, a crocodile; in front, a hippopotamus. (Pl. II., No. 9.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 326).

The type of this coin, with the sphinx, the crocodile, and the hippopotamus, is very appropriate.

The Egyptian sphinx differed from the Greek, inasmuch as it is generally represented as an unwinged lion, crouching with the upper part of the body human, as also upon this coin. (See the coin of Albinus described later, No. 90.)

The crocodile, which has been identified with the Leviathan of Scripture, was a strict emblem of the Nile; and Pliny⁵⁹ says, that when the famous painter Nealces,

⁵⁸ 3, 9, 41.

⁵⁹ N. H. xxxv. 11.

who flourished about B.C. 245, wished to represent this river, he drew an ass's colt drinking on the shore, and a crocodile lying in wait for it (*asellum enim in litore bibentem pinxit, et crocodilum insidiantem ei*).

The hippopotamus, identified with the Behemoth of Scripture, at one time frequented Lower Egypt, but is now confined to Upper Ethiopia.⁶⁰

A long dissertation on the Nile, and the inquiry as to who has discovered its sources, would here be out of place; but an interesting paper by our president, Mr. Vaux, "On the Knowledge of the Ancients of the Sources of the Nile," may be consulted with advantage.⁶¹

The same type, but without the legend, occurs on other gold coins of Hadrian (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 531, 532), and the same with modifications, and with the legends NILVS and S.C. on some of his brass coins (Nos. 984—994; 1124—1126).

64. HADRIAN. *Rev.*—COS. III. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 183.)

65. " *Rev.*—P.M. TR. P. COS. III. (Cohen, *Ib.* No. 366.)

SABINA.

* 66. *Obv.*—DIVA AVG. SABINA. Bust of Sabina, to the right, veiled and crowned with ears of corn.

Rev.—CONSECRATIO. Sabina carried to heaven on an eagle. (Pl. II., No. 10.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 13.)

* 67. *Obv.*—SABINA AVGVSTA IMP. HADRIANI AVG. P.P. Bust of Sabina, to the right.

Rev.—No legend. Ceres seated to the left on a basket,

⁶⁰ Wilkinson, *Pop. Acct. of Anct. Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 239.

⁶¹ *Trans. Roy. Soc. of Literature*, 2nd Ser., vol. viii. p. 35.

holding ears of corn and a torch. (Pl. II., No. 11.) **D.**

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, No. 34), from *Wiczay*. It differs slightly in having the IMP., which does not occur on any of the other gold or silver coins of this type.

68. **ÆLIUS.** *Rev.*—PIETAS. TR. POT. COS. II.
(Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 12.) **D.**

ANTONINUS PIUS.

* Φ 69. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. T. AEL. HADR. ANTONINVS
AVG. PIVS. P.P. Head of Antoninus Pius to
the right, laureated.

Rev.—PAX (in *exergue*). TR. POT. XIII. COS. IIII.
Peace, standing to left, holding olive branch and
sceptre.

Published only in *silver* by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 206).

70. ANTONINUS PIUS. *Rev.*—LAETITIA. COS. IIII.
(Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 172.)

71. ANTONINUS PIUS. *Rev.*—LIBERALITAS. AVG.
III. (Cohen, *Id.*, No. 176.)

72. " *Rev.*—TEMPORVM. FELICI-
TAS. COS. IIII. (Cohen, *Id.*, No. 248.)

73, 74. " *Rev.*—No legend. (Cohen, *Id.*,
No. 368; two varieties, one with head of
Medusa on shield, and one without.) **D.**

FAUSTINA I.

* 75. *Obv.*—FAVSTINA AVG. ANTONINI AVG. P.P.
Bust of Faustina to the left.

Rev.—CONCORDIA AVG. Female figure seated to
left, holding *patera*, and leaning her left arm on
a statue of Hope; beneath the chair a cornu-copiae.

This coin is erroneously published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 62) as being the same as a coin in the French Cabinet (No. 60), on which "Concord leans her arm on a cornu-copiae, which forms one of the arms of her chair;" but he has corrected the mistake in his general *errata*, vol. vi. p. 615.

* 76. *Obv.*—Same legend. Bust of Faustina to the right.

Rev.—IVNONI REGINAE. Throne, on which are placed a diadem and a sceptre, crosswise; to the left, a peacock; to the right, a basket of fruit. (Pl. II., No. 12.)

Also published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 93), but incorrectly, for he gives the obverse legend as FAVSTINA AVGVSTA.

M. Cohen has attached a note to the first of these two coins, in which he observes, that numismatists have generally considered that all the coins of Faustina, with the legends FAVSTINA AVG., and FAVSTINA AVG. ANTONINI AVG. P.P., were struck during her life, from A.D. 138 to A.D. 141, and that the rest, which have the title of DIVA, of which we possess such numbers, were struck after her death by Antoninus, who never ceased to honour her memory and her early death three years after her accession to the throne. But, from a study of the coins a question has arisen, which M. Cohen has thus treated:—"How," he says, "are we to explain the types of the coins Nos. 65, 66, and 218 [*read* 217], which commemorate the concord which existed between Faustina and Antoninus, and on which we find the legend DIVA FAVSTINA? How also are we to account for the fact that the type of the throne, with the sceptre and peacock, occurs also with the legends AETERNITAS and AVGVSTA, which only belong to Faustina commemorated, and at the same time with the legend IVNONI REGINAE, where the obverse applies to Faustina while alive?" He concludes, therefore, that though there is no doubt that the coins with the legend DIVA FAVSTINA were struck after her death, yet, at the same time, others without the epithet of consecration were also issued after her decease, especially those on which is the type of the throne,

similar to the coins with the reverse legends AETERNITAS and AVGVSTA. Hence it is his opinion that it is impossible to fix positively the date of any of the coins of Faustina I.

In this case the coin above described with the legend IVNONI REGINAE (No. 76), would be a consecration piece.

77. FAUSTINA I. *Rev.*—CONSECRATIO. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 71.)

78. M. AURELIUS. *Rev.*—CONCORDIAE AVGVSTOR. TR. P. XVI. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 23.)

79. " *Rev.*—CONSECRATIO. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 38; a variety of this coin is in the Museum.) **D.**

80. " *Rev.*—P.M. TR. P. XIX IMP. III. COS. III. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 167.)

81. " *Rev.*—TR. P. XXIII. IMP. V. COS. II. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 301.)

82. " *Rev.*—VOTA. PUBLICA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 355.)

83. LUCILLA. *Rev.*—CONCORDIA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 1.) **D.**

84. " *Rev.*—VENVS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 26.) **D.**

COMMODUS.

* 5. *Obv.*—M. COMM. ANT. P. FEL. AVG. BRIT. P.P. Head of Commodus to the right, laureated.

Rev.—APOLLINI PALATINO. Apollo, dressed as a woman, standing to the right, holding a *plectrum* in his right hand, and placing a lyre on a column. (Pl. III., No. 1.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 10).

According to Suetonius⁶² and Dion Cassius,⁶³ Augustus

⁶² *In Aug.* 29, 31.

⁶³ xlix. 15.

built a temple to Apollo on the Palatine immediately after the battle of Actium, and Horace⁶⁴ alludes to it, when he states that Augustus built a library on the Palatine mount near to the temple—

“Scripta *Palatinus* quæcunque recepit *Apollo*.”

It is not to be supposed that a man like Commodus much revered the gods, inasmuch as he did everything for his own pleasure rather than for religion's sake (*ex libidine potius quam religione*),⁶⁵ and even built eating-houses and brothels (*popinas et ganeas*)⁶⁶ within the Palatine temples themselves, among which was a temple to the god represented on this coin. But Apollo, as well as Hercules, was a favourite, for he is named also on the coins of Commodus as APOL. MONET. The Palatine Apollo is also commemorated on his silver coins, medallions, and brass coins, and occurs on a medallion of Sept. Severus (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 461). The Palatine Apollo is again said to exist on coins in the time of Gallienus, but the coin is only quoted by Cohen from *Tanini du Cabinet d'Ennery* (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 65). According to Ammianus Marcellinus,⁶⁷ the temple was consumed by fire in the reign of Julian the Apostate. At the same time as this temple to Apollo was built on the Palatine, immediately after the battle of Actium, the temple of Apollo at Actium itself was repaired. This is commemorated on a silver coin of Augustus, struck by his moneyer Antistius Vetus (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Antistia, No. 12; engraved, pl. ii., Antistia, No. 5), and the word ACT. alone, with

⁶⁴ *Epist.*, lib. i. 3, 17.

⁶⁶ Lamprid, *Comm.* 11.

⁶⁵ Lamprid, *Comm.* 16.

⁶⁷ Lib. xxii.

the type of an Apollo, occurs on several of his imperial coins (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 143—159).

- * 86. COMMODUS. *Rev.*—CONC. COM. P.M. TR. P. XVI. COS. VI. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 14.) **D.**
- * 87. " *Rev.*—P.M. TR. P. XVII. IMP. VIII. COS. VII. P.P. (Cf. Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 195; a variety, the bust being to right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.)
- * 88. *Obv.*—COMM. ANT. AVG. P. BRIT. Bust of Commodus, to the right, bare, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.
Rev.—VIRT. AVG. (in *exergue*.) P.M. TR. P. X. IMP. VII. COS. IIII. P.P. Commodus in military dress on horseback, galloping to right, directing his spear against a lion. (Pl. III., No. 2.) **D.**

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 333).

Commodus was not content with killing wild beasts in the public amphitheatre, but amused himself in the same manner at home.⁶⁸ He was particularly adept at killing lions, as represented on this coin, and on one occasion is said to have killed, one after another, a hundred lions.⁶⁹ It was on this account that he named himself Hercules. Caracalla wished also to be called "Hercules" when he had killed lions and other beasts like Commodus.⁷⁰ The same type occurs on the large brass of Commodus. The festivities given by Severus at the marriage of his son Caracalla are represented by the coins with the legend LAETITIA TEMPORVM, where may be seen several animals in the circus (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Severus, No. 154; Caracalla, No. 78).

⁶⁸ Dion Cass., lxxii. 17.

⁶⁹ Herodian, lib. i.

⁷⁰ Spartian, in *Carac.*, 5.

PERTINAX.

89. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. P. HELV. PERTIN. AVG.
Bust of Pertinax to the right, with *paludamentum*
and cuirass.

Rev.—VOT. DECEN. TR. P. COS. II. The Emperor,
veiled, standing to left before a tripod, holding a
patera. (Pl. III., No. 3.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 22).

ALBINUS.

90. *Obv.*—D. CL. SEPT. ALBIN. CAES. Head of
Albinus, to the right, bare.

Rev.—SAECVLO FRVGIFERO. Bearded divinity,
with the head covered with a tiara and veil,
seated on a throne to left, between two winged
sphinxes, standing, with the Phrygian cap (?)
on their heads; the divinity has the right
hand raised, and an open flower in the left. In
exergue, COS. II. (Pl. III., No. 4.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 41 ; engraved, pl. vi.)

The reverse of this coin, which presents more difficulty than is usually to be met with on Roman coins, has been described as above, by the late M. Ch. Lenormant,⁷¹ who has written a very interesting and learned article upon this type. He considers the word *Saeculum* a translation of the Greek Αἰών, who is recognised as a divinity in several authors, and that the divinity on this coin is the Phœnician *Æon*. But how is a Phœnician deity to be accounted for on a Roman coin? It appears that Albinus was born at Hadrumetum, one of the chief cities of Africa Propria, and the capital of Byzacena. Doubtless Phœnician worship was hither brought from Carthage, which was

⁷¹ *Rev. Num.*, 1842, p. 91.

not far distant, and Severus flattered Albinus by allowing him to represent on his coins the divinity of his country. Among other epithets the colony of Hadrumetum bore, was also that of *Frugifera*.⁷² "Is it not permitted to think, then," says M. Lenormant, "that the surname did not arise so much from the fertility of the territory of Hadrumetum, but that the epithet related to the principal divinity of the town? And does it not remind one that, according to Philo of Byblus, *Æon* first taught men to rear fruits (εἰρῆν δὲ τὸν Αἰῶνα τῇν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων τροφὴν)?"

The sphinxes with Phrygian caps, M. Lenormant leaves unexplained, but gives an interesting note on the various forms of sphinxes. For a thorough account of this highly interesting and rare coin, the reader must consult M. Lenormant's well-written paper. Sir G. Wilkinson,⁷³ in speaking of head-dresses, says, "The King, in religious ceremonies, put on a striped head-dress, probably of linen, which descended in front over the breast, and terminated behind in a sort of *queue* bound with riband. This last is the one generally worn by sphinxes, which were emblems of the king." Perhaps it is this cap which is on the head of the sphinxes on this coin.

The sphinx alone occurs on the coins of Augustus (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 249—251), who, as we learn from Suetonius,⁷⁴ Pliny,⁷⁵ and Dion Cassius,⁷⁶ adopted it as his seal before he made use of the head of Alexander

⁷² Gruter, p. 362.

⁷³ *Popular Account of Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii., p. 324.

⁷⁴ *In Aug.* 50.

⁷⁵ N. H. xxxvii. 1.

⁷⁶ li. 3.

the Great. It may also be seen on the coin of Hadrian (No. 63) above described, and is of frequent occurrence, and naturally, on the Alexandrian coins.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

* Φ 91. *Obv.*—I. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. III.
Head of Severus, to the right, laureated.

Rev.—DIS. AVSPICIB. TR. P. II. COS. II. P.P.
Hercules and Bacchus, naked, standing to left.
Hercules holds a club and lion's skin, and
Bacchus a cup and *thyrsus*; between them a
panther. (Pl. III., No. 5.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 74) from the *Ancien Cat. du Cabinet des Médailles*.

According to Dion Cassius,⁷⁷ Severus built a magnificent temple to Bacchus and Hercules, and from this we may suppose that he considered these gods his "*auspices*." The same legend and type occur on the brass coins of Severus (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 501), and the same type with the legend DI PATRII on some others of his brass coins (No. 500). This latter legend, with same type, may be found on a gold coin of Caracalla (No. 34), and on a second brass coin of Geta (No. 131).

92. SEPT. SEVERUS. *Rev.*—CONSECRATIO. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 53.)

93. " *Rev.*—LEG. XIII. GEM. M.V. TR. P.
COS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 172; engraved, pl. vii.)

* 94. " *Rev.*—P.M. TR. P. XIII. COS. III.
P.P. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 299.)

95. " *Rev.*—P.M. TR. P. XV. COS. III.
P.P. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 301.)

* 96. " *Rev.*—VICT. AVGG. COS. II. P.P.
(Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 399.)

⁷⁷ lxxvi. 16.

*Φ 97. *Obv.*—SEVERVS PIVS AVG. BRIT. Head of Severus to the right, laureated.

Rev.—VICTORIAE BRIT. Victory running to the left, holding wreath and palm. (Pl. III., No. 6.)

This coin was struck in A.D. 210, to commemorate the journey of Severus to Britain, and victories over the British. Spartian⁷⁸ says that the Emperor adopted the title of *Britannicus* on account of the wall he built, but as Dion Cassius says nothing about this wall, and as Spartian in another place⁷⁹ informs us that Hadrian first built a wall in Britain—a fact again omitted by Dion—the circumstance may well be doubted. Severus did not long enjoy his envied honour, for he died at York, in the February of A.D. 211.

98. SEPT. SEVERUS, DOMNA, } *Rev.*—FELICITAS SAE-
CARACALLA AND GETA. }
CVLI. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 4; engraved,
pl. vii.) D.

SEPT. SEVERUS AND GETA.

* 99. *Obv.*—L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. VIII. Bust of Severus, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—IMPERII FELICITAS. Busts facing each other of Severus and Geta, both with *paludamentum* and cuirass; the bust of former laureated, of latter bare. (Pl. III., No. 7.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 1).

100. J. DOMNA. *Rev.*—VENERI GENETRICI. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 95.) D.

101. „ *Rev.*—VENERI VICTR. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 102.)

102. DOMNA, CARACALLA AND GETA. *Rev.*—AETERNIT. IMPERI. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 1, engraved, pl. ix.)

⁷⁸ *In Sever.* 18.

⁷⁹ *In Hadr.* 11.

103. CARACALLA. *Rev.*—MINER. VICTRIX. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 104.) D.
104. " *Rev.*—P.M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. IIII. P.P. (Cohen, *Id.*, No. 177.)
- *Φ105. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS. Bust of Caracalla, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.
- Rev.*—P. MAX. TR. P. III. Rome, helmeted, seated on a shield to left, holding a Victory and spear.
- Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 123) from *Wiczay*.

The P. MAX., as is observed by Eckhel, should be interpreted "*Parthicus Maximus*," and not "*Pontifex Maximus*," as Caracalla did not attain the dignity of high-priest till after his father's death, and this coin is dated A.D. 200. He received the title of "*Parthicus*" after the expedition he made with his father against the Parthians.

- *Φ106. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. Head of Caracalla, to the right, laureated.
- Rev.*—VOTA SOLVT. DEC. COS. III. Caracalla, veiled, standing to right, before a tripod; opposite, a man raising a hatchet and about to strike an ox; behind the tripod, a flute-player.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 374) as *autrefois, Cabinet des Médailles*.

CARACALLA AND PLAUTILLA.

- *107. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS. Young bust of Caracalla, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.
- Rev.*—PLAVTILLAE AVGVSTAE. Bust of Plautilla, to the right. (Pl. III., No. 8.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 2).

CARACALLA AND GETA.

- *108. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. PON. TR. P. IIII.
Young bust of Caracalla, to the right, laureated,
with *paludamentum* and cuirass.
- Rev.*—P. SEPT. GETA CAES. PONT. Young bust
of Geta, to the right, bare, with *paludamentum*
and cuirass. (Pl. III., No. 9.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 6).

PLAUTILLA.

109. *Obv.*—PLAVTILLA AVGVSTA. Bust of Plautilla,
to the right.
- Rev.*—CONCORDIA AVGG. Concord, seated to the
left, holding *patera* and double cornu-copiae.
(Pl. III., No. 10.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 3) ; a very beautiful coin.

- *110. *Obv.*—PLAVTILLAE AVGVSTAE. Bust of Plau-
tilla, to the right.
- Rev.*—CONCORDIAE AETERNAE. Plautilla,
standing to right, giving her hand to Caracalla,
who stands facing her. (Pl. III., No. 11.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 7 ; engraved, pl. xii.).

These last two coins were struck on the marriage of Caracalla and Plautilla, and the last one especially relates to this event, which took place in A.D. 202. The festivities and *fêtes* which ensued on this occasion, and to celebrate the decennalia, are recorded by Dion Cassius,⁸⁰ and I have already in a former paper described them more fully.⁸¹ Two coins of Caracalla more especially relate to this event, one, which is at Vienna, with the legend PROPAGO IMPERI (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 297), and

⁸⁰ lxxvi. 1.

⁸¹ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. i. p. 101.

the other, which is in the British Museum, with the legend *CONCORDIA FELIX* (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 15). The word *CONCORDIA* is here quite out of place, for from the first Caracalla detested Plautilla, and even after marriage refused to recognise her as his wife, treating her shamefully after Severus's death, and eventually ordering her to be killed, after he had murdered his brother Geta. Yet even Plautilla has not escaped without *onus*, for she is termed by Dion Cassius⁸² "a most impudent woman," (*γυναικὶ ἀναιδεστάρῃ*). As regards the frequent occurrence of the word *concordia* on the coins of Caracalla, Plautilla, and Geta, the words of Dion Cassius may perhaps furnish the reason for its adoption. He says,⁸³ that it was decreed by the Senate that Caracalla should sacrifice to the immortal gods for the peace of each, and especially to the goddess Concord herself. An interesting large brass coin of both Caracalla and Geta, with the legend *CONCORDIAE AVGG*, represents them shaking hands, the former being crowned by Hercules, the latter by Bacchus (not Apollo, as Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 392, 128), thus corroborating the fact (already alluded to) that magnificent temples were erected to these deities by Severus.

GETA.

*Φ111. *Obv.*—P. SEPTIMIUS GETA CAES. Bust of Geta, to the right, bare, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—VICTORIAE AVGG. Victory in biga, to the right. (Pl. III., No. 12.)

*112. GETA. *Rev.*—PONTIF. COS. II. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 55.) D.

113. MACRINUS. *Rev.*—VOTA PVBL. P.M. TR. P. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 66.) D.

⁸² lxxvi. 3.

⁸³ lxxvii. 1.

DIADUMENIAN.

114. *Obv.*—M. OPEL. ANT. DIADVMENIAN. CAES.
Bust of Diadumenian, bare, to the right, with
paludamentum.

Rev.—PRINC. IVVENTVTIS. Diadumenian, stand-
ing facing, looking to the right, holding a
standard and a sceptre; to the right, two
standards. (Pl. IV., No. 1.) **D.**

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 2).

This young prince, who was killed with his infamous father, Macrinus, at the early age of nine years, is always called Diadumenianus on coins and inscriptions, as also by the Greek historians Dion Cassius and Herodian, but Lampridius⁸⁴ calls him *Diadumenus*, and gives two reasons for the cause of the adoption of this name. One, on account of the diadem round his head, with which he was born, and which was fixed on so firmly, that it could not be torn off; the other, that he derived the name from his maternal grandfather. The first reason is of course absurd, though it really appears that he was born with a caul; and the latter is as good a one as can be found.⁸⁵ Mionnet⁸⁶ says that on a colonial coin the name *Diadumennus* is given instead of *Diadumenianus*. But what colonial coin?

All the Roman coins of this young prince have only the title of *Cæsar*, although the Augustan writer, Capitolinus,⁸⁷ was doubtful whether he was ever Augustus, as

⁸⁴ *In Diad.* 4.

⁸⁵ A magnificent statue by the famous sculptor, Polycleites, representing a youth binding his head with a fillet, was called *ὁ διαδούμενος*, and is mentioned and valued at a hundred talents by Pliny, "*diadumenum molliter juvenem, centum talentis nobilitatum*." (Plin., N.H. xxxiv., ch. 8.)

⁸⁶ *Méd. Rom.*, vol. i., p. 341.

⁸⁷ *In Macr.* 10.

indeed, he is called by Lampridius,⁸⁸ *Patri Augusto Filius Augustus*. Dion in several places calls him *ἀυτοκράτωρ* (*Imperator*), and on many of the Greek Imperial coins, notably those of Antioch, he is styled AVT. K., and on the authority of Pellerin, Vaillant, and Eckhel, some have even the word CEB.

JULIA MÆSA.

115. *Obv.*—IVLIA MAESA AVG. Bust of Mæsa, to the right.

Rev.—IVNO. Juno, veiled, standing to left, holding a *patera* and a *sceptre*. (Pl. IV., No. 2.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 6).

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

* 116. *Obv.*—IMP. ALEXANDER PIVS AVG. Bust of Alex. Severus, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—LIBERALITAS AVG. V. Liberality, standing to the left, holding a *tessera* and a cornucopiæ. (Pl. IV., No. 3.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 56).

This highly interesting and rare coin was struck in A.D. 233, after the defeat of Artaxerxes, the Parthian commander, on the plains beyond the Euphrates. According to Lampridius,⁸⁹ Alexander Severus held a *concio* immediately after receiving the congratulations of the Senate, and addressed the people as follows: "Quirites, vicimus Persas, milites divites reduximus, vobis *congiarium* pollicemur, cras ludos circenses Persicos dabimus." He even gave them another *congiarium* a few days after. It is recorded by the same author⁹⁰ that this emperor gave a

⁸⁸ *In Diad.* 8. ⁸⁹ *In Alex. Sev.* 57.

⁹⁰ *In Alex. Sev.* 26.

congiarium to the people *three times*, and gifts to the soldiers *three times*; but the coins only inform us of "five Liberalities." Coins of Liberalitas V. are more rare than any of the other four. A specimen in silver is in the *Musée de Vienne* (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 58), and there are two different types of this Liberality in large brass (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 288, 289). The silver specimen of this type omits on the obverse the name *Pius*, which commences on the coins of the 10th Tribunitian Power in A.D. 231. It also has on the reverse AVGG, instead of AVG. It is of barbarous work, which will account for these mistakes. Alexander took the title of *Pius* after the other members of the Severus family, especially as he was adopted by Elagabalus, and was even talked about as the reputed son of Caracalla. He far more deserved the title of *Pius* than any of his family, for he not only was a good sovereign and much beloved by the people, but he was continually inculcating the grand Christian truth "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." (*Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*).⁹¹

117. ALEX. SEVERUS. *Rev.*—P.M. TR. P. VI. COS. II.
P.P. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 134.)

SALLUSTIA BARBIA ORBIANA.

* 118. *Obv.*—SALL. BARBIA ORBIANA AVG. Bust of Orbiانا, to the right.

Rev.—CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM. Concord, seated to the left, holding a *patera* and a double cornu-copiae. (Pl. IV., No. 4.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 3).

For a long time this empress was classed as the wife of

⁹¹ Lamprid. *In Alex. Sev.* 51.

Decius, as there is no mention of her in history, at least by name, though Lampridius⁹² speaks of the wife of Alexander Severus as a pattern for the Roman matrons, and may allude to Orbiana, although in a previous passage⁹³ he gives the name of his wife as *Memmia Sulpitii Filia*, and in a later,⁹⁴ he says that he was married to a daughter of a certain *Martianus*, who being detected attempting his life, was put to death, and his daughter likewise; of neither of these (if indeed they are separate persons) are there any coins. Large medallions of Alexander and Orbiana now prove whose wife she was. The *quinarius* with two heads, published by Khell, and the one said to exist in the museum of Cardinal Buoncompagni,⁹⁵ are works of Becker. On comparing the Alexandrian coin of Orbiana, with the date L. E, with a coin of the same year and type of Alexander, it is certain that she was married in the fifth year of his reign. A silver coin, published by Cohen, from D'Ennery (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 5), has the legend PROPAGO IMPERI, with type similar to the coin of Caracalla, to which I have already alluded; Alexander and Orbiana shaking hands also occur on the large brass of Orbiana (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 12, engraved, pl. ii.). Whether Orbiana had any children is unknown, though there is a medallion with the legend FECVNDITAS TEMPORVM, and with the type, the empress, seated, presented with a cornu-copiæ, by Fecundity, on her knees, the latter at the same time holding two children (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 9, engraved, pl. ii.).

⁹² *In Alex. Sev.* 41.

⁹³ *In Alex. Sev.* 20.

⁹⁴ *In Alex. Sev.* 49.

⁹⁵ Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vii. p. 235.

URANIUS ANTONINUS.

*119. *Obv.*—L. IVL. AVR. SVLP. VRA. ANTONINVS.

Bust of Uranius Antoninus, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—CONSEPVATOP (*sic*) AVG. A conical sacred stone enveloped in a shawl, the ends of which are fastened in front with a brooch (?) and hang down; on either side a parasol. (Pl. IV., No. 5.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 1; engraved, pl. iii.).

The description of the reverse is given by Cohen as follows; "Pierre conique entourée de draperies; en dessous, un objet, qui paraît être la représentation des parties sexuelles extérieures de la femme; de chaque côté, un parasol." It is sufficient to say that I prefer my own description.

This rare and highly interesting coin has been illustrated (like that of Albinus above described) by the late M. Ch. Lenormant, in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1843, p. 255, in which he has given a good account of this usurper. It appears that, according to Zosimus,⁹⁶ two usurpers took up arms in the East against Alexander Sévère, one named *Antoninus*, the other *Uranius*; whilst Aurelius Victor⁹⁷ states, that a certain *Taurinus* having been proclaimed Augustus, was so horrified that he threw himself into the Euphrates. There is not much difficulty in identifying the *Uranius* of Zosimus with the *Taurinus* of Victor, and as the coin above also gives us the name of *Antoninus*, it is sufficiently evident that Zosimus has made two persons out of one usurper.

Two other coins, struck at Emesa, seem to indicate that

⁹⁶ i. 12.

⁹⁷ *Epit.* xl.

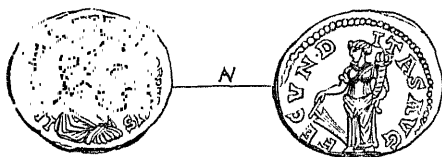
it was at this city Uranius first established his authority; a third which has been recently acquired for the British Museum was struck at Antioch, and has the usual eagle on the reverse. All these coins have on the obverse the legend AVTOK. COYΑΠ. ANTΩNINOC CEB. For the discussion which arises from the date on the large brass coin of Emesa, see M. Lenormant's paper. Suffice it to say that Haym has considered this dated coin to refer to a usurper in the time of Valerian, whose name is given by Zosimus⁹⁸ as *Antoninus*, which is quite out of the question, and Eckhel has wished to restore them to Elagabalus, which would give to this Emperor *prænomena* that he never possessed. The identification of the *Sulpicius Antoninus* of the Greek Imperial coins with the *Sulpicius Uranius Antoninus* of the Latin, may be considered as established.

In the curious object on the reverse of this coin, we must recognise a representation of the god "Elagabal," like that on the coins of Emesa, on which also may be seen parasols similar to those on this *aureus*; and a *denarius* of Elagabalus, with the legend SANCT. DEO SOLI ELAGABAL., represents the car in which this emperor carried the god of Emesa to the new temple at Rome (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 127). To follow the argument of M. Lenormant through his ingenious paper, would take up too much space, and I must therefore refer my readers to his remarks for further information.

In conclusion, I may add, that the only other Latin coin, also of gold, of Uranius Antoninus, is also in the British Museum. There was a specimen of this type in the *Cabinet de Médailles*, but it was stolen in 1831, and

⁹⁸ i. 38.

was never recovered. The piece in the Museum was, a short time ago, sent from the East to Paris, when, falling into the hands of Mr. Curt, it passed into those of Mr. de Salis, and came, with the rest of his valuable collection, to the British Museum. On account of its great rarity and interest, it may not be out of place to give here an engraving and description.



Obv.—L. IVL. AVR. SVLP. VRA. ANTONINVS.

Bust of Uranus Antoninus, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—FECVNDITAS AVG. Fecundity (with the attributes of Fortune), standing to the left, holding a rudder and a cornu-copiae.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 2; engraved, pl. iii.).

It will be seen that the obverse legend of these coins is identical; and it may be remarked, that their fabric (especially of the former one) is peculiarly similar to that of the coins of Elagabalus and Alexander Severus, struck in Syria.

Eckhel, who never saw this latter coin, doubted it on account of the reverse legend not agreeing with the type; but, as M. Lenormant has suggested, the value of Latin words could not have been well understood in the town in which this piece was struck.

120. MAXIMINUS I. *Rev.*—PAX AVGVSTI. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 13.) D.

121. PHILIP I. *Rev.*—LIBERALITAS AVGG. II. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 37.) D.

OTACILIA.

* 122. *Obv.*—MARCIA OTACIL. SEVERA. AVG. Bust of Otacilia, to the right, with diadem.

Rev.—PIETAS AVG. Piety, standing to the left, raising the right hand, and holding a box of perfumes. (Pl. IV., No. 6.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 14).

This empress is only known from coins and inscriptions. She was the mother of Philip II., who was killed with his father in A.D. 249; and Zosimus⁹⁹ relates, that a wife of Philip I. had a daughter who was married to one Severianus. She is supposed to have turned Christian; and a letter addressed to her by Origen is even mentioned by Eusebius.¹⁰⁰

PHILIP II.

* 123. *Obv.*—M. IVL. PHILIPPVS CAES. Bust of Philip II., to the right, bare, with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—PRINCIPI IVVENT. Philip II. in military dress, standing to the right, holding a globe and a spear. (Pl. IV., No. 7.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 31; engraved, pl. x.).

ETRUSCILLA.

124. *Obv.*—HER. ETRVSCILLA AVG. Bust of Etruscilla, to the right, with diadem.

Rev.—PVDICITIA AVG. Female figure seated to the left, raising her veil and holding a sceptre. (Pl. IV., No. 8.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 11).

This empress, the wife of Trajanus Decius, is also only known from coins, and from one inscription given by

⁹⁹ i. 19.

¹⁰⁰ H. E. vi. 36.

Muratori and Maffei, which was found at Carseoli. Besides the names of *Herennia* and *Etruscilla*, she bore those of *Annia* and *Cupressenia*, the former given by Pellerin, as existing on a coin of Tarsus, and the latter on the Alexandrian coins (εΡ. ΚΟΥΗ. ΑΙΤΡΟΥΚΙΑΑΑ CΕΒ. Pellerin, *Rec.* III. p. xix.), and on the inscription above referred to.

125. TREB. GALLUS. *Rev.* — FELICITAS PVBLICA.
(Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 21.) D.

* 126. VOLUSIAN. *Rev.* — PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. (*Ib.*, No. 58.) D.

ÆMILIAN.

* 127. *Obv.* — IMP. AEMILIANVS PIVS FEL. AVG.
Bust of Æmilian, to the right, radiated.

Rev. — EPOVL. (*sic*) VICTORI. Hercules, naked, standing to the right, leaning on his club, holding a bow, and a lion's skin suspended over his left arm. (Pl. IV., No. 9.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 7).

The other names of this emperor are *Caius*, *Marcus*, and *Æmilius*, the two last of which occur on a silver coin (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 18). His reign was not of long duration, and Eutropius sums up his life with the words, "*obscurissime natus, obscurius imperavit.*"

Another Æmilian, who is said to have taken the name of *Alexander* or *Alexandrinus*,¹⁰¹ was one of the thirty tyrants who assumed the purple in Egypt under Gallienus. Mr. de Salis has assigned to him an Alexandrian coin, with the legend ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ CΕΒ, and the date L. B. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, vol. v. p. 10), which differs considerably in fabric

¹⁰¹ Treb. Poll., XXX. *Tyr.* 22; cf. *in Gall.* 4.

from coins with a similar legend, and which evidently belong to a later Domitian, who, on his Latin coins, is called Domitius Domitian (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, vol. v. p. 549). It is curious, too, and somewhat corroborative of the former attribution, that a *Domitian* conquered Macrianus and his son.¹⁰²

* 128. VALERIAN I. *Rev.*—FIDES MILITVM. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 44.) D.

129. MARINIANA. *Rev.*—CONSECRATIO. (Cohen, *Id.*, No. 1.)

GALLIENUS.

* 130. *Obv.*—GALLIENVS AVG. Head of Gallienus, to the right, covered with the skin of the head of a lion.

Rev.—FIDES MILITVM. Faith, standing to the left, holding two standards. (Pl. IV., No. 10.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 155).

This coin has been published by M. de Witte, in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1845, p. 268, and engraved pl. xiii. The attributes of Hercules, as M. de Witte observes, were without doubt assumed from Postumus, of whom coins exist with the same reverse legend and type. It is certainly remarkable to find the fidelity of the soldiers recorded by Gallienus, when it is well known that at no time were the military so defective in fealty. On the contrary, we know that Postumus¹⁰³ was elected by acclamation of the soldiers. M. de Witte has suggested that this coin was struck when Victorinus, in A.D. 265, deserted to Postumus, and when Gallienus became afraid that the example of Victorinus and his legions might be followed by the whole army.

¹⁰² Treb. Poll., XXX. *Tyr.* 13.

¹⁰³ Treb. Poll., in *Gall.* 4; in *Post.*

The obverse type of this coin again occurs on a large brass medallion of Gallienus (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 719), with, on the reverse, the legend *MONETA AVG.*, and the type, the three *Monetæ* standing with their attributes. As Tristan has observed,¹⁰⁴ Gallienus might compare himself with Hercules, who went through every country freeing them from monsters and robbers, as the exterminators of the tyrants who arose against his authority.

The valour of Gallienus, when he was called upon to exert himself, has never been questioned, and numerous coins, with the legend *VIRTVS AVG.*, represent him under the form of Mars.

131. *Obv.*—*GALLIENAE AVGVSTAE*. Head of Gallienus, to the left, crowned with reeds.

Rev.—*VBIQVE PAX*. Victory in a *biga*, to the right, holding a whip. (Pl. IV., No. 11.) *D*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 545; engraved, pl. xvii.)

The explanation of this rare and interesting coin has long been a *quæstio vexata* to Numismatists. Eckhel indeed, himself, after lengthy discussion of it, finishes with the opinion of Barthélemy, that these coins are "*l'ornement d'un cabinet et le désespoir des antiquaires.*" Two opinions have, however, been advanced, which merit attention. The first, that of Vaillant, who supposes that they were struck in the rebellious provinces to show up the effeminacy of Gallienus; and the second, that of Eckhel, who suggests that Gallienus may have thought fit to assume the attributes of Ceres, as Nero assumed those of Apollo, and Commodus those of Hercules. As an addendum to Vaillant, the late M. Ch. Lenormant, in the *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, recognising their ironical nature,

¹⁰⁴ *Comment. Hist.*, iii. p. 71.

imagined that they were struck by Postumus in ridicule of Gallienus.

There is not the slightest doubt that these coins are ironical.¹⁰⁵ Even the reverse legend of "Universal Peace" at a time when the Roman state was never so harassed by usurpers, is an additional proof of the fact. There is also a remarkable passage in Trebellius Pollio,¹⁰⁶ in which he states that Celsus was invested with the imperial dignity by a certain woman of the name of Galliena (*per quandam mulierem, Gallienam nomine*), the cousin of Gallienus (*consobrinam Gallieni*). Here, also, may be a covert allusion to the effeminate emperor, though Goltzius has published a coin, which is certainly spurious, supposed to belong to the *Licinia Galliena* of this passage.

The crown, also, on the head of Gallienus, is not without interest, and has been generally and erroneously described as "a crown composed of ears of corn," though, by Hardouin and Tanini, as "a crown of grass." Pellerin, indeed, whose manuscript catalogue (as M. Cohen informs us) is preserved in the *Cabinet des Médailles*, calls it, and with justice, *corona arundinea* (a crown of reeds). M. Chabouillet, the keeper of the *Cabinet des Médailles*, has suggested, that, in the same manner as the Jews offered to

¹⁰⁵ A second brass coin of Faustina junior (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 226) has also been supposed by antiquaries to be satirical. It represents Faustina, as Venus, trying to hold Mars, who is naked, and Faustina's love for gladiators being well known, it is thought that here is represented Faustina holding back the gladiator Narcissus. From the fact, however, that this coin bears the mark of the authority of the Senate (S. C.), I cannot but agree with the opinion of M. Cohen, who, whilst recognising the figure of Faustina, thinks "that the moneyer wished to offer homage to this princess, in borrowing, from mythology, the names of Mars and Venus, and, from sculpture, the attributes in which the ancients always represented these two divinities."

¹⁰⁶ *In Cels.*

our Lord a *reed for a sceptre* in derision, so those who wished to ridicule Gallienus crowned him with *reeds* instead of with laurels.

The same crown occurs on other coins of Gallienus, and M. Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, vol. iv. p. 417) is of opinion that they offer a gradation of satire, at first slight, and at last assuming an aspect of contempt, that could not easily escape general observation. He places the coins as follows:—

1. P.M. TR. P. VII. (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 446.)
2. VICTORIA AVG. (" No. 596.)
3. FIDES MIL. (" No. 148.)
4. VBIQVE PAX. (" Nos. 547, 548, 549.)

These four with the simple crown of reeds.¹⁰⁷

5. VICTORIA AVG VSTI (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 616,) and
6. VBIQVE PAX. (" Nos. 546, 546.)

These two with the crown of reeds and the name GALLIENAE AVG VSTAE.

- * 132. *Obv.*—GALLIENVS P.F. AVG. Bust of Gallienus, to the right, radiated.
Rev.—VOT. X. ET XX., within a crown of laurel. (Pl. IV., No. 12.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 711).

133. GALLIENUS. *Rev.*—VIRTVS AVG. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 648.)
- * 134. " *Rev.*—MONETA AVG. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 6; large medallion.)
135. SALONINA. *Rev.*—VENVS GENETRIX. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 80.)

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

(To be continued.)

¹⁰⁷ There is also a large brass medallion of Gallienus in the collection of M. Dupré (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 724) on which the crown of reeds also occurs, with the legend on the reverse MONETA AVG., and the three *monetæ* standing. Cohen explains it by comparing the bankruptcy of the state with the type of the three *monetæ* who personified the *public credit*.



L. H. Fairholt del. et. sculp.



R. W. 3. unode del ul. si. q.



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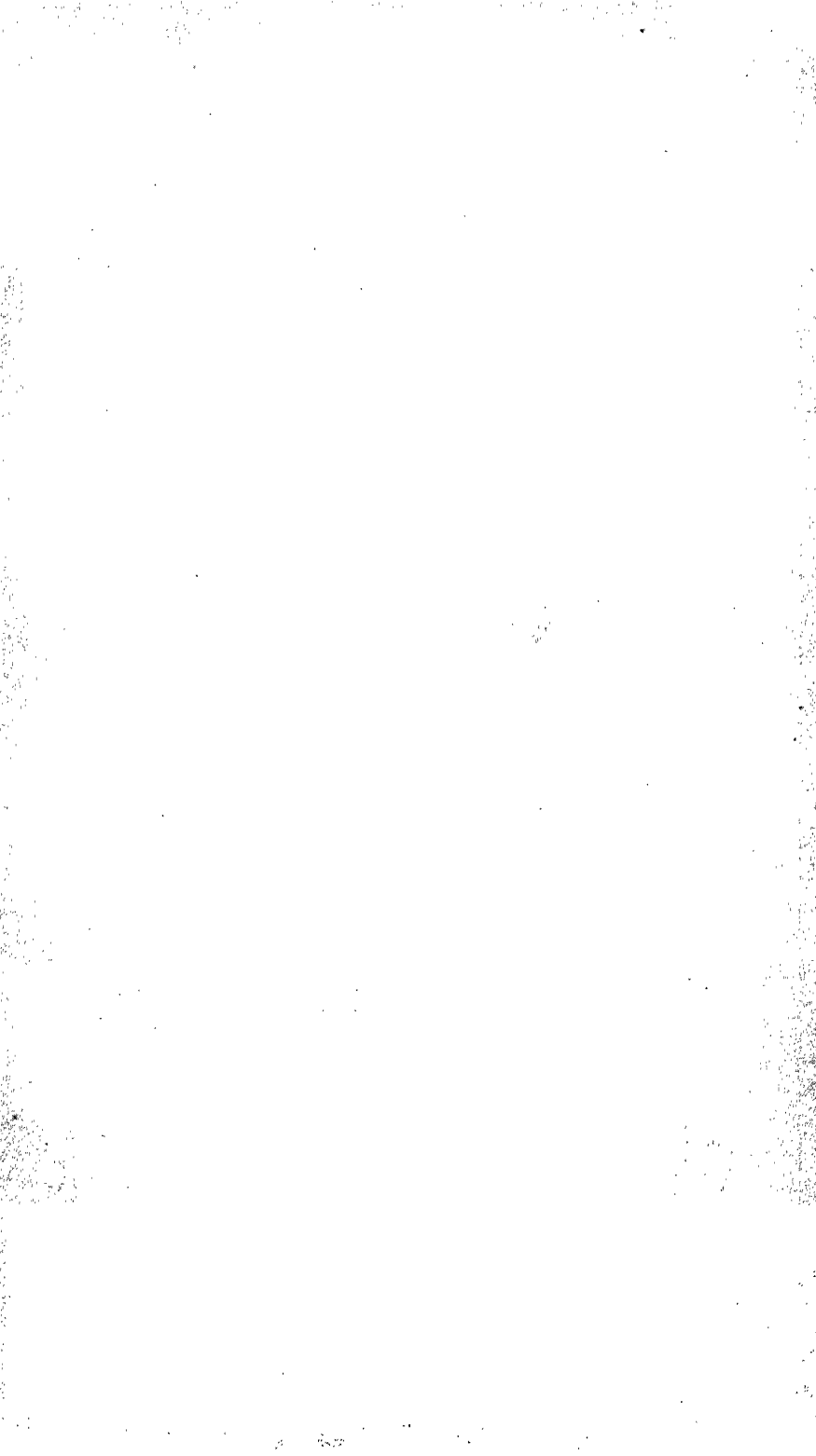


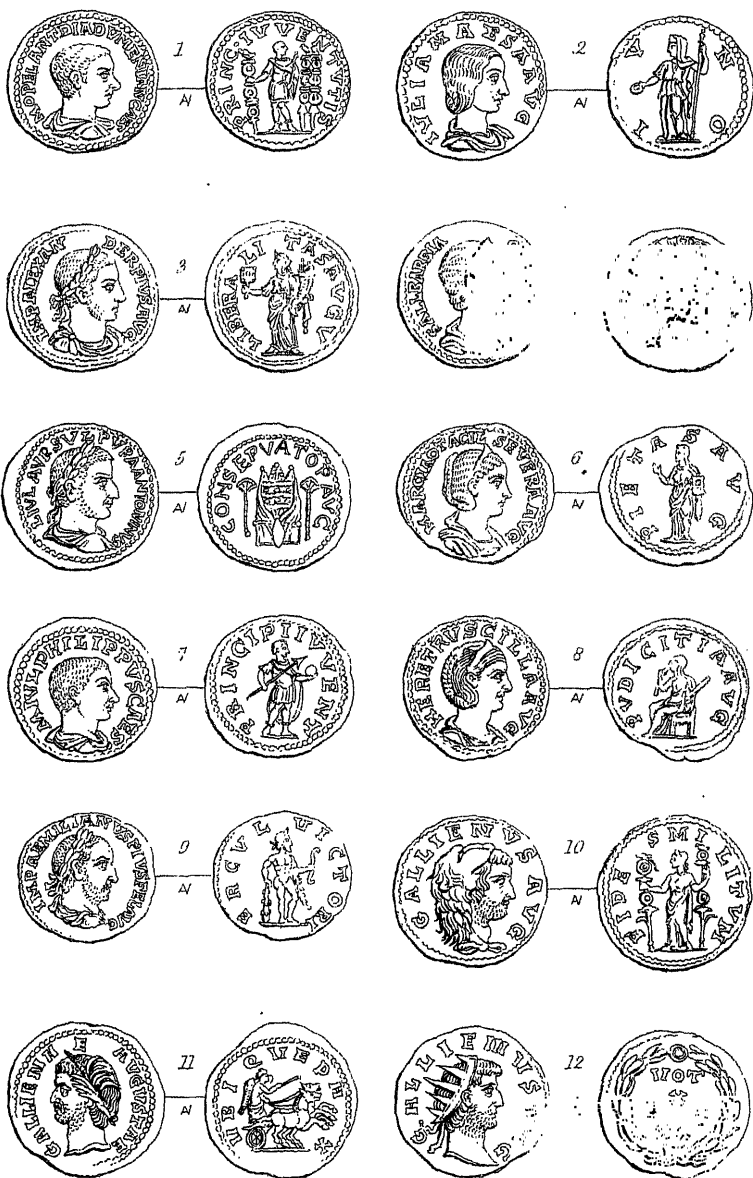
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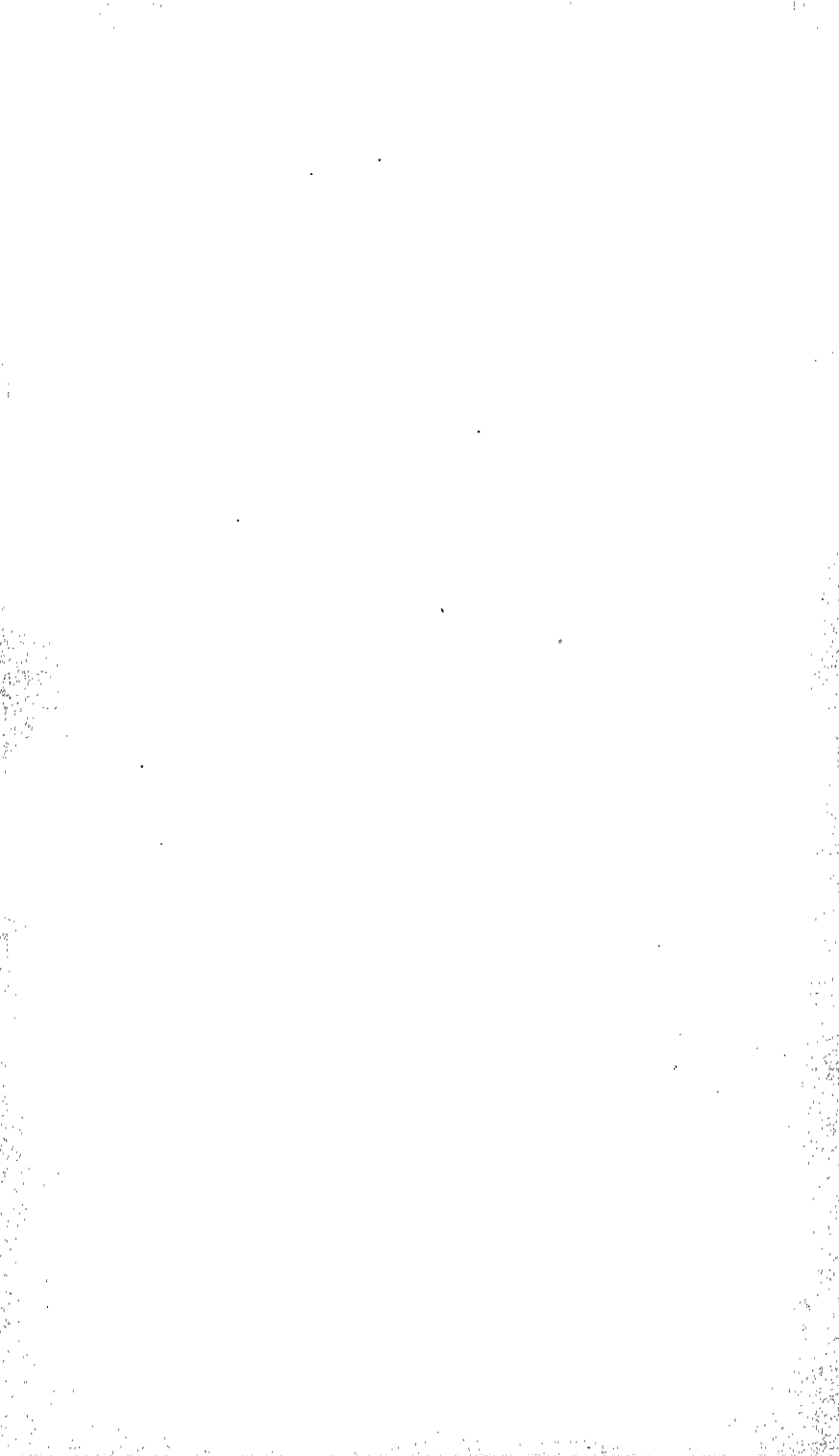


384 Panth del. et sculp.





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II.

ON A HOARD OF GOLD ORNAMENTS AND SILVER
COINS FOUND IN BUTE.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Dec. 15, 1864.]

IN the third volume of the new series of the Numismatic Chronicle, there is a short notice by Mr. George Sim of some gold ornaments and silver coins which had been discovered in the island of Bute, on the 7th of June, 1863; and he there expressed a hope that I would furnish a more particular description of them. Illness, however, and other causes, prevented me from carrying out his wish long ago. The objects found had come, by the law of treasure trove, into the possession of her Majesty's Exchequer in Scotland; and it was through the kind intervention of Mr. Sim that I obtained a cursory inspection of the gold ornaments, and a more careful examination of the coins. They are all now deposited in the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh; and Mr. McCulloch, the curator, has kindly furnished me with more particular information about the ornaments than I could obtain during the slight examination I was able to make of them.

They consist of—1. A plain gold penannular ring, without any ornament, thickest in the middle, and tapering gradually towards each end. It weighs 190 grains.

2. A gold ring, weighing 202 grains, composed of two strands twisted together, thickest in the middle, and having the (smaller) ends welded together so as to form a disk, as if for a signet ring. The resemblance is probably accidental, for the workmanship is of a very rude description.

3. A band or fillet of gold, 17 inches long, and about 3-16ths of an inch in width, with a hole at each end, apparently for the purpose of fastening it to the person or dress. It is ornamented to the extent of $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches at each end, with a zig-zag, or Vandyke pattern, of the simplest kind, with a pellet in each angle; and it has a beaded line, running throughout the whole length, on both edges. It weighs 55 grains, and is, of course, very thin and flexible.








4. A similar band, 13 inches long, and 43 grains in weight, with the same kind of ornamentation extending for $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at each end.

5. Another band, broken, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and 5-16ths of an inch broad, weighing 50 grains. In this case it is ornamented with *two* zig-zag dotted lines, forming a row of diamond-shaped figures.

There was also (6) a small bar of silver, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, and weighing 228 grains.

The coins found with the above, though few in number, possess more than ordinary interest to those who study the early coinage of Scotland. There are in all only 27, four of which are in fragments; but in this comparatively small parcel there occur coins of David I. of Scotland, and of his contemporaries, Henry I. and Stephen of England—one which I am altogether unable to appropriate, and another of doubtful attribution. Several of the coins of David are of a type which is unpublished as

belonging to him, though identical with a type which is common in the coins of Stephen, and indeed is the one on those of Henry and Stephen found in this hoard. There is an indication, also, of a new place of mintage, hitherto unknown in the whole range of the coinage of Scotland; but, unfortunately, from the imperfection of the legend, we can at present only conjecture what place was intended. I will, however, before entering on these points, which are matters for discussion, give as accurate a catalogue as I can of the coins themselves.

1. *Obv.*— ENRICVS.† Crowned head with sceptre to the right.
Rev.—Legend illegible. "Cross moline, pierced at the end; the terminations meet and form a tressure fleury internally." See Ruding, *Sup. Part II.* pl. ii. fig. 8, and Hawkins, pl. xx. fig. 259. Plate V. Fig. 1.
2. *Obv.*— - - IEFHE REX. Crowned head with sceptre to the right.
Rev.— - - R - - - - LD : ON LAND [LARD]. Type as the last. Ruding, pl. i. fig. 17; Hawkins, pl. xxi. fig. 270.
3. *Obv.*— TIFENE. As No. 2.
Rev.— CAPINE : ON - AS - As No. 2.
4. *Obv.*— STIEFNE - As No. 2.
Rev.— RODBERT . ON - - - - As No. 2. Plate V. Fig. 2.
5. *Obv.*— - RVN() - - - - +
Rev.—Legend illegible. Cross fleury, a pellet in each angle. Plate V. Fig. 3.
6. *Obv.*—Barbarous legend.
Rev.— -  AD - - - . Cross fleury, with stalked pellets in the angles. See *Num. Chron.*, Vol. xii., p. 181, fig. 7.
7. *Obv.*— - AVIT : R - - - retrograde.
Rev.— HV - - TR - - - As No. 6. Plate V. Fig. 4.

8. *Obv.*—Legend illegible.
Rev.—Ditto. As No. 6.
9. *Obv.* and *Rev.* as the last.
10. *Obv.*—+ D - - - I - - REX.
Rev.— - - - - LART : ON - A - - Cross fleury
 over a smaller cross terminated by pellets. Plate
 V. Fig. 5.
11. *Obv.*— - - - - T : REX :
Rev.— - - - - LLART : ON HA - - - . Cross fleury
 with a pellet in each of three angles, and an annulet in the
 fourth. Plate V. Fig. 6.
12. *Obv.*—✠ D - - o IT . REX.
Rev.— - VGO . ON ROCA - - - - Cross fleury with a
 pellet in each angle. Plate V. Fig. 7.
13. *Obv.*— - - AVID R - -
Rev.— - - - - LBOLD : O - - - - - VP. The type is
 the same as that on the coins of Henry and
 Stephen, described above. Plate V. Fig. 8.
14. *Obv.*—+ DAVID RE-
Rev.—✠ - RIN - : σ - - - ON : . As the last.
15. *Obv.*—+ D - - - - - o - - REX.
Rev.— - - - - - - ON : - - - . As the last.
16. *Obv.*—DAVI - - REX.
Rev.—Legend indistinct. Type as the last.
17. *Obv.*—τ · OMVI - - - - - + (+DAVI - - - ?).
Rev.—Legend illegible. Type as the last. Plate V.
 Fig. 9.
18. *Obv.*— - - - - EX retrograde.
Rev.—As the last.
- 19—23.—Five coins more or less illegible, but all of the same
 type as the preceding.
- 24—27.—Four coins of the same type in fragments.

I have followed Ruding and Hawkins (Ruding, Sup.
 Part II. pl. ii. fig. 8, and Hawkins, pl. xx. fig. 259) in

attributing the coin of Henry to the first English king of that name; but it may possibly be questioned by some, more particularly as it is a coin of very rare occurrence, whether it really belongs to that monarch, and whether it ought not rather to be given to Prince Henry of Scotland, the son of David I. The absence of the word *Rex*, though certainly by no means unusual in the coins of Stephen, and occasional in those of Henry I., may be thought to favour this view, and the type of the reverse, being the same as that on those of Stephen found with them, may be supposed to strengthen this opinion, since several of the coins already known and attributed to this Northumbrian prince are similar in workmanship and type to another of Stephen's coins (*vide* Lindsay, pl. i. figs. 19, 20, 21; and compare with pl. xviii. fig. 21). The illegibility of the place of mintage on the reverse unfortunately stands in the way of positively settling the point; but the mere circumstance of a single coin of this type being found along with several Scottish coins, ought not to shake our faith in the correctness of the previous attribution of the type to Henry I., more particularly as other coins undoubtedly English were found in the same hoard.

The three coins of Stephen are all of the same type, and that the most common one—viz., that figured by Hawkins, pl. xxi. fig. 270. On the obverse of No. 2 the N in the king's name is written H, and the place of mintage seems to be *CARD* = Carlisle—a mint from which we should naturally expect coins to find their way into Scotland. But that of No. 3 is at the other extremity of the kingdom—apparently Hastings. The first letter is indistinct; but I know not how else to explain the following letters, AS.

The only letters which are legible on the obverse of No. 5 of this list are RVNO (See Plate V. Fig. 3), and are insufficient to enable me to assign it to any Scottish king. And the legend on the reverse is even more imperfect, so that we have not the advantage of knowing where it was minted—a knowledge which would of course aid in the correct attribution. The fourth letter is more indistinct than the others. I was at one time almost disposed to regard it as a C, and to read the first letter as a D, and to attribute the coin to Duncan II., of whom no coins have been discovered. But the first letter is certainly R, and the fourth seems to be O. I must therefore leave it to some one more skilled in these matters to determine to whom it ought to be given. The easiest mode of getting over the difficulty would be to regard it as one of the baronial coins of the period; but that would really bring us very little nearer to a correct knowledge of the coin, unless we could also indicate the baron by whom it was struck. Besides, I much question whether the type on the reverse is ever to be found on the baronial coins. I am aware that Mr. Rashleigh has given a figure of a coin with this reverse (see *Num. Chron.*, vol. xiii., p. 181, fig. 7) as a baronial coin; but, with the greatest respect for his judgment on such a point, I cannot but regard it, and also fig. 8 of his plate, as illegible Scottish coins, probably of David I.—an opinion in which I am persuaded Scottish numismatists in general will coincide with me.

All the remaining coins of this hoard, though differing in appearance, in type, and in workmanship, belong, in my opinion, to David I. One, indeed, No. 6, is so barbarous in fabric, and the legend is so indistinct, that it might be attributed either to Alexander I. or to the

earlier mintage of David I. Others, like too many of the coins of the period, are so ill-struck, and the legends so illegible, as to render it a matter of uncertainty to determine from the coins themselves to which monarch they belonged; but their presence amongst others of certain attribution, and their identity with them in type and general character, leave little room for doubt.

No. 7 (fig. 4), though of rude workmanship, reads very legibly - AVIT : R - - retrograde, and is evidently similar in type to Lindsay, pl. i. fig. 12. But it seems to me to resemble, even more closely, his fig. 7, which he attributes to Alexander I.; and, after careful consideration, I am disposed to assign to David two out of the three coins attributed by him to Alexander—viz., his Nos. 7 and 8. With regard to his No. 7, I have no doubt; on comparing it with our Fig. 4, its identity will be apparent. About his No. 8 I am less certain; but to me it appears to read - - VIT retrograde, the T being more blundered than the other letters, and made to resemble an A. The coin figured in our plate is evidently in much better condition than those figured by Mr. Lindsay; and but for my better fortune in meeting with a more perfect specimen, which seems to throw light on the others, I should not have ventured to call in question the correctness of their attribution by so distinguished and so accurate a numismatist.

It may be observed that I have arranged the coins of David according to their types, placing those which I consider the earliest first. Nos. 6 to 10, both inclusive, have the cross fleury with stalks and pellets in the angles. No. 11 has the cross fleury with a pellet in each of three of the angles, and an annulet in the fourth—a variety which I have not before observed, and which I believe is

unpublished. No. 12 has a pellet in each angle. The others, Nos. 13 to 27, are all of the new type, like those of Henry and Stephen found with them.

Though Nos. 10 and 11 differ on the reverse, I believe they were both minted in the same place, and by the same moneyer (see Figs. 5 and 6). Unfortunately we have, on both coins only the concluding letters of the moneyer's name, and merely the first two letters of the place of mintage. The more distinct of the two is No. 11, which reads - - LART : ON HA - - . This mint is entirely new on the coinage of Scotland, and it is much to be regretted that we have not a third letter to aid us in fixing its site. The only places in Scotland, of any note, whose names begin with HA, are Hamilton, Hawick, and Haddington. The first of these may be at once dismissed, as being of much more recent date. I had almost come to the conclusion that Hawick was the place indicated, partly because of its proximity to Roxburgh and Berwick, the only two places where coins of David I. had hitherto been known to be struck ; but chiefly because, in almost all the topographical works which I had within reach, the present name is said to have been given to Haddington at a somewhat later period. However, on consulting Dr. David Laing, the learned librarian to the Signet Library in Edinburgh, whose antiquarian researches are universally known, he informed me that Haddington was much the more likely place of the two to have had a mint at that time, and kindly pointed out to me charters granted in the reign of David I., in which Haddington is mentioned as a place of very considerable importance, even at that early period, whereas Hawick was not then a place of any note. The probability, therefore, is, that these two coins were struck in Haddington ; but it is remark-

able that we have no evidence of coins having been minted there in any subsequent reign.¹

The only Scottish coin in this hoard whose place of mintage can be fixed with certainty is No. 12. It is from the Roxburgh mint. As may be seen from the plate, Fig. 7, it is in fine condition, though the legend is not complete on either side. On the coin itself the termination of the king's name, on the obverse, reads more distinctly IT than is represented in the plate. The moneyer seems to have been hVGO, though the initial letter of the name is obliterated. His name appears in connection with the Roxburgh mint on the fine coin formerly in Mr. Hay's possession, now in the Museum of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh, and figured by Lindsay, pl. i. fig. 9, as well as on a coin now in my possession, and which I have caused to be inserted in the Plate for comparison (Fig. A). On each of the coins the legend on the reverse varies.

On Mr. Hay's coin . . .	+ hVGO ON ROCH.
On Fig. A	+ h - - - : ON ROCA S.
On No. 12	- VGO - ON ROCA - - -

It will be observed that on the first the whole of the legend is legible, and I am not aware of any other instance in which Roxburgh is so written. In the second (Fig. A), we can have no hesitation in supplying the blanks in the moneyer's name, there being just room for

¹ A distinguished antiquary in Edinburgh was greatly shocked by my asking him whether he thought it possible that the letters HA on this coin might indicate Aberdeen, as that city was known to have had a mint at the commencement of the reign of Alexander III., and probably earlier. "No, no," was his reply, "we do not use the aspirate in that way on this (the north) side of the Tweed." I reminded him, however, that in the Chronicle of Melrose the name is spelt Habirden!

three letters, and the name of the place of mintage is legible throughout. On the third (Fig. 7) there is space for several letters, which are illegible, between the A in ROCA and the V in VGO. How would this space have been filled had the legend been perfect? On the coins of William the Lion we find an endless variety in the mode of designating Roxburgh, from the initial R to the lengthened forms of the name ROCEBVR, ROCESBVR, ROCAB -, ROCEBVRG, &c., and I have, therefore, little doubt that the full legend on this coin was either +HVGON ROCAVVR or ROCASBVR. This same Hugo was evidently a skilful artist. So far, indeed, as we can judge from the specimens he has left us, he was the very best of his day, at all events in Scotland; and I think his coins will bear comparison with the best of those struck in England at the same period. I have another coin in my possession which I am satisfied was struck by him, and, though much rubbed and mutilated, it bears traces of very superior workmanship. It is figured by Mr. Lindsay, pl. i. fig. 15, where the legend on the reverse reads - - SO . ON P, but it ought to be - - GO . ON R - - -. The G is much rubbed, though that is not indicated in Mr. Lindsay's plate, and the upper part of the letter so overlaps the lower, that it requires very careful inspection to perceive that it is not an S.

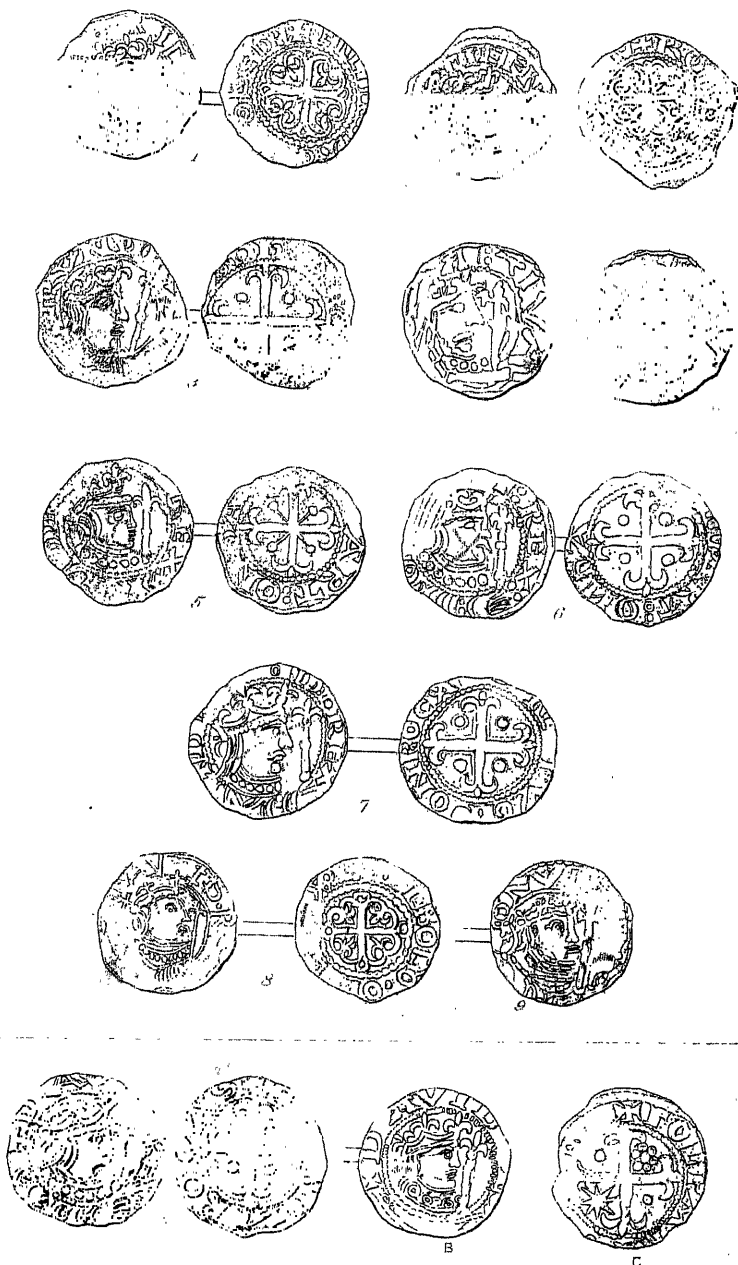
The remaining coins, from 13 to 27, inclusive, are of the same type, hitherto unpublished as belonging to David—viz., that so common on the coins of Stephen—see Plate V. Fig. 8. They are all of very rude fabric, and seem to be somewhat similar in workmanship to two coins of Stephen found in the hoard of "Coins of Henry I. and Stephen discovered in Hertfordshire in

1818," and described by Mr. Rashleigh in the *Num. Chron.*, vol. xii. p. 138. He says—"There are of the Cardiff (?) mint two coins, which, in the workmanship both of the head and legend, are very different from every other coin in the collection. Their peculiarities, as they are extremely rare, have been hitherto unnoticed. The letters are of the character of those on the early Saxon coins, having no serifs, and the portrait is considerably more rude than usual (see pl. fig. 9)." [This should have been fig. 10.] Mr. Rashleigh doubted the correctness of the attribution of these two coins to Cardiff. Perhaps he would now assign them to Carlisle. I should certainly be disposed to do so after reading Mr. Longstaffe's able paper, "Northern Evidence on the Short Cross Question." See especially his note on the "Orthography of Carlisle," *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. iii. p. 165.

It is very much to be regretted that on not one of the coins of David of this type can the place of mintage be made out. In size and general appearance they bear a considerable resemblance to the so-called baronial coins of the period. Some of them are so rude in fabric, and the legend so barbarous, that I should have considered the attribution hopeless, had I not been guided by the presence, in the same hoard, of others a little less barbarous, but of the same type. They are interesting, however, as furnishing us not only with an unpublished type, but also with a new mode of spelling the king's name. Hitherto, in all the published coins of David I., the final letter of the name was T. In two, or perhaps three, of the coins before us—viz., Nos. 13 (see Plate V. Fig. 8), 14, and 15 (?) the letter D is substituted. In the other coins of this type the legends are too imperfect to enable us to make out the concluding letter. The moneyer of

No. 13 (Plate V. Fig. 8) was probably FOLPOLD. There was such a moneyer in Roxburgh in the time of William the Lion; and in the same reign there was a FOLPOLT at Perth. At the end of the reverse legend of the same coin may be observed something like a monogram, which I am unable to decipher. In No. 16 some of the letters are formed even more rudely than those on the coins immediately preceding, and the legend on No. 17 (see Plate V. Fig. 9) seems to be an imitation by an illiterate artist of one which was already barbarous enough. The remaining coins are more or less illegible, not merely from the rudeness of the workmanship, but from their having been imperfectly struck.

• The discovery of this small hoard establishes completely the propriety of the attribution of the coins with the cross fleury and pellets to David I. The hoard seems to have been hidden about the middle of the twelfth century—probably not earlier than 1140 nor later than 1160. It seems to me absurd to suppose that any of the coins in this hoard could have belonged to David II., for, if so, they would not have been associated with the comparatively rare English coins of Henry I. and Stephen, which must then have been about two hundred years old. But if mixed with English coins at all, we should have found with them, as in the case of the recent discovery at Kinghorn, the extremely common coins of his contemporary, Edward III., and of his immediate predecessors; nor should we have failed to find amongst them many specimens of the common pennies of Alexander III., with some probably of Robert Bruce and of John Baliol; and, if there had been any of an earlier date, they would have been those of William the Lion. The great similarity, also, in general appearance and workmanship of many of the



W.F. Millar Del. & Sc.

COINS FOUND IN BUTE, &c.

coins of David to those of Henry and Stephen, and the identity in type of many in this hoard, tend still further to prove that they must have been struck about the same period. Indeed in some the resemblance is so strong as to induce the belief that they may possibly have been the work of the same artist. The fact that David, in his early years, was much at the English Court—Matilda, the wife of Henry, having been the sister of David—and that Stephen created Henry, David's son, Earl of Northumberland, render the supposition by no means improbable. May it not have been that Prince Henry caused coins to be struck at Carlisle, both for Stephen and for David? Or were these coins of the Stephen type struck by order of David himself at Carlisle, when he had gone to reside there after Prince Henry's death?

But while the discovery at Bute proves the existence of coins of David I., it has gone a long way towards shaking my confidence in the correctness of Mr. Lindsay's attribution of coins to Alexander I. There may not, indeed, be any sufficient reason why coins of that monarch should not be found; but if I be correct in supposing that the coins Nos. 7 and 8 figured by Lindsay belong to David, then the actual existence of coins of Alexander rests on the authority of a single specimen, and that again on a single letter (A) common to both names. I confess that I should be glad to have some stronger evidence.

The three coins, A, B, and C, figured on the same plate, are in my own collection; and they are here inserted to afford an opportunity of comparing the first two with the coins described above, and because the third, Fig. C, is a new and unpublished type.

Fig. A so exactly corresponds with the description given

by the late Rev. Dr. Jamieson of a coin in his possession, that I was disposed to think it must be the identical coin, and subsequent inquiries (with a view to trace the Doctor's specimen) have only tended to confirm this impression. If so, it is interesting as being, so far as I am aware, the first coin which was correctly appropriated to David I., and published as belonging to him. It is scarcely necessary to say that the coins previously published by Anderson as belonging to this monarch were incorrectly attributed. Dr. Jamieson's paper, in which this coin is described, was read in February and March, 1832, and was published in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature" in 1834. Mr. Lindsay, whose admirable work on "The Coinage of Scotland" was not published till 1845, does not seem to have been aware of Dr. Jamieson's paper; and it is a strong proof of the correctness of their views in assigning the coins of this type to David I., that they should have arrived, independently of each other, at the same conclusion. The obverse reads τ DAV - - REX, and the reverse, as I have described above, \div H - - - : OM ROCAS. Dr. Jamieson supposed the moneyer's name must have been HVE, but the vacant space could not have been filled up by only two letters.

The obverse only is given in Fig. B. The king's name is here to be seen at full length, which is very rarely the case in the coins of David, as almost all of them are very badly struck, or much worn. The final letter is D, as in two or three of the Bute coins; but in this instance the workmanship is very superior, and the type on the reverse is quite different, being the cross fleury and pellets, as in Fig. A. The legend on the reverse is, unfortunately, illegible, but the quality of the work leads me to think

that the moneyer may possibly have been Hugo, and that the coin was minted at Roxburgh.

Of the next coin (Fig. C) only the reverse is figured. The head on the obverse is almost obliterated, but the legend is distinctly DAVIT : R - - . The head, as usual, is looking to the right, with a sceptre in front. Reverse, + GOLPM - - - - Cross fleury, with a rose of pellets in one angle, in the opposite angle a star, and in each of the alternate angles a pellet.

Mr. Lindsay informs me that the type is new to him, the only impression he had previously seen having been one made from this very coin, and sent to him by Mr. Webster, before it came into my possession. There is, however, another coin of the same type in the Museum of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, which I discovered in 1863, when looking over their collection. On comparing the type on the reverse of this coin with that on the coin figured in Lindsay, pl. i. fig. 5, and ascribed by him to Malcolm III., it will be seen that they bear a close resemblance to each other, and the presence of the rose of pellets in both induces me to think that they must have been struck nearly about the same time. The style of work also leads to the conclusion that the type was probably adopted at a late period in David's reign, and I am therefore inclined to attribute the coin figured by Mr. Lindsay to Malcolm IV., the grandson of David, who succeeded him on the throne. Judging from the plate, I cannot imagine that, if coins were struck at all in Malcolm Canmore's reign, there were any artists in Scotland at that time capable of producing such a coin. The state of Scotland at the time renders such a supposition extremely improbable, and the absence of all coins of the four kings who intervened between Malcolm III. and

David (for I regard the evidence on which coins have been attributed to Donald and Alexander I. as insufficient) tends to the same conclusion, viz., that if any coins were minted in the reign of Malcolm III. they must have been of a very rude description. In considering this question, it should be remembered that sixty years elapsed between the termination of Malcolm III.'s reign and the accession of his great-grandson Malcolm IV. to the throne, and also how great a change was effected in the state of the country within that period, or rather during the latter half of that period, *i.e.* during David I.'s reign. It has been said of this royal saint, that, by his residence at the English court during his early years, "his manners were polished from the rust of Scottish barbarity." The impressions there made on his mind in youth produced fruit in later years; and we know that during his reign he did all in his power to encourage arts and commerce and civilisation, by inducing natives of other nations, more civilised, to immigrate to Scotland. A comparison of his own coins also will show that there was a vast improvement in the mintage during his reign, his earlier money being extremely rude in fabric, while his later coins bear evidence of excellent workmanship. This improvement was, no doubt, effected by the introduction of foreign artists, of whose presence we see no evidence during any preceding reign.

I cannot conclude without acknowledging the accuracy of Mr. W. F. Miller's illustrations of the coins, and thanking him for the great care he has bestowed upon them. The reader is also indebted to him; for a much better idea of the coins themselves is given in the Plate than could be conveyed by my imperfect descriptions of them.

JOHN H. POLLEXFEN.

NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In the *quatrième livraison* of the *Revue Belge* for 1864 there are the following articles:—

1. "Gallo-Belgic Numismatics, or Monetary History of the Atrebrates, the Morini, and Gallo-Belgic nations in general" (continuation), by M. Alexandre Hermand.

2. "Gold Crown of Charles V., Lord of Tournai," by M. le Comte de Nédonchel.

3. "Numismatic Curiosities: Rare or inedited Coins" (seventh article), by M. R. Chalon. Among these is a penny of St. Edmund (Hawkins, 139), with the legend + WINER MONE on the reverse.

4. "Documents pour servir à l'histoire des monnaies," by M. de la Fons-Mélicocq.

5. "Documents pour servir à l'histoire des monnaies des XIV^e et XVI^e siècles," by M. de la Fons-Mélicocq.

In the *Correspondance* is a letter from M. P. E. Thomas to M. Renier Chalon, on the "Poids de table de Toulouse."

In the *Mélanges* are notices of various recent numismatic publications.

The second and third *Fascicolo* of vol. i. of the *Rivista della Numismatica Antica e Moderna*, for 1864, published at Asti under the editorship of Prof. Agostino Olivieri contains the following articles:—

1. "A review of the notice, by Prof. T. Mommsen, of the find of Roman denarii in Spain," by Signor Cavedoni.

2. "A coin of Tirinto," (*Τίρυνς*), by Signor Promis.

3. "Medallion of Marcus Aurelius Cæsar," by Signor Promis.

4. "A denarius of Charlemagne struck at Florence," by Signor Tonini.

5. "Coins of Hugo and Lothario of Lucca," by Signor Promis.

6. "Note on a coin attributed to Luni," by M. A. de Longpérier.

7. "Additions to the Memoir of Zanetti on the mint of Massa Marittima," by Signor Promis.

8. "On an inedited coin of Francis I. of France," by Signor Maggiora-Vergano.

9. "James III., Mandelli, Count of Maccagno, and his coins," by Signor Kunz.

10. "Coins and medals of Landi di Valditaro," by Signor Pigorini.

11. "Milanese denarius of Harduin, King of Italy," by Signor Bertoletti.

12. "Coin of Francesco Vico struck in Viterbo," by Signor G. Porro.

13. "Coin of Brescello," by Signor Cavedoni.

14. "Of the mint of some coins of Geneva—Introduction," by Signor Olivieri.

15. "An inedited *Luigino* of the mint of Arquata, in Liguria," by Signor Olivieri.

16. "On two inedited coins of Charles of Orleans, struck at Asti," by Signor Maggiora-Vergano.

17. "Of the mint of Albenga, in Liguria," by Signor Olivieri.

The number concludes with some notices of seals and of recent numismatic works; also a chronicle of events, among which may be noticed the publication of an important work by the Swiss numismatist, Signor A. Durando, entitled *Les Médailles des Numismates*.

In vol. xxxvii. of the *Jahrbücher des Vereins von alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, 1864, p. 166, there is a short paper, by M. Edward Rapp, of Bonn, "On an as yet unknown silver coin of the time of the Roman civil war." It is necessary to make a few remarks upon it. The coin (of which an engraving is given) may be described as follows:—

Obv.—Q. SERTORIVS. Bare head to the left; behind, a *caduceus*.

Rev.—PROVIDEN. MILITAR. A hind walking to the right. *Æ*.

Respecting the authenticity of this very remarkable coin, M. Rapp remarks: "To put an end to every doubt on the genuineness of this coin, it is sufficient to add, that it is already without hesitation acknowledged as authentic by the first numismatic authorities in Paris; and the piece itself was shown to me by the royal Belgian state architect, M. François Derre, at Brussels. The place where it was found was the neighbourhood of the town of Hal, about four *lieues* south of Brussels, towards Mons, where, at the works of a new railway, the navvies came upon the remains of a Roman road. . . . The design, from which our drawing is taken, is from a tinfoil (*Stanniolabdruck*), which I took myself. The movements of Roman armies in Belgium have been very numerous, and it is impossible to find

more classical ground where it is likely that such a coin could be discovered."

The authenticity of this coin being thus satisfactorily established, M. Rapp has attributed it to the famous Q. Sertorius, who so long kept at bay the Roman armies in Spain, and who eventually, in B.C. 72, was murdered at a banquet by ten Roman conspirators.

Whether it is to be allowed that Sertorius struck money in Spain is still a question to be solved, but this much is quite certain, that he never issued the above described coin. I have not the slightest hesitation in condemning it as a gross fabrication, notwithstanding the opinion "of the first numismatic authorities in Paris." Let me attempt to substantiate my assertions.

Looking at it from a forger's point of view, the reverse type is well suited to the accounts of history. For did not Sertorius have a fawn, which used to accompany him in his walks, and be with him on all occasions (Plut. *Sert.*), and which has even in modern times been commemorated in a novel, "The Fawn of Sertorius"? (London, 1846). But here the allusion (*gy.* illusion?) to the time is at an end. Insuperable objections present themselves to the numismatist. Putting aside the question that no coins have been ever attributed to Sertorius, there are two reasons against the authenticity of the piece—first, it bears a *head previous to B.C. 72*; and second, it has a legend and type nowhere known as existing during the republican period.

It is well known that Julius Cæsar was the first who ever put his own head on the coinage, and this he did not venture to do till created dictator for life, and consul for ten years, in B.C. 44. The coins issued during this year were struck by the four following magistrates—1, L. Æmilius Buca (Cohen, *Med. Cons.*, pl. ii., *Æmilia*, nos. 14, 15, 16, 17); 2, Mettius (Cohen, pl. xxviii., *Mettia*, nos. 3, 5); 3, Sepullius Macer (Cohen, pl. xxxvii., *Sepullia*, nos. 4, 5, 6, 7), and Julius Cæsar being killed the same year, the head is *veiled*, and the coinage continued by Sepullius Macer (Cohen, pl. xxxvii., *Sepullia*, nos. 8, 9); and 4, Maridianus (Cohen, pl. xvi., *Cossutia*, nos. 2, 3, 4). It is therefore perfectly impossible that any coinage with the *head of a living personage* existed previous to B.C. 44.

It is very certain that the legend PROVIDEN. MILITAR. is an *Imperial* one. I have not been able to ascertain on what coins (if it exists) it may be found. Rasche (Lex. s. v.) gives it as occurring on two silver coins of Pescennius Niger, with the type of the fawn; but they are unknown to Cohen. The legend PROVID. or PROVIDENTIA alone, or the same

with AVG. or DEORVM, occurs downwards from the reign of Augustus. The type of the fawn occurs on coins of Salonina (c. A.D. 268), but with the legend IVNONI CONS. AVG. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 50). I am also unable to give the earliest coin on which it may be found, but I do not think it is likely to occur earlier than the time of Philip (A.D. 244—249), and am inclined to regard it as entirely a reverse of the Gallienus period. The two points that I am here unable at present to ascertain will be clearly proved when the promised supplement to M. Cohen's work makes its appearance (see Cohen, vol. vi., p. 593). It is to be observed that Rasche (Lex., s. v. Sertorius) gives two coins in silver from the Comtesse de Bentinck—one similar to that published by Mr. Rapp (*Cat.*, Amst., 1787, p. 78), and another, but without the Q. on the obverse (*Suppl.*, Amst., 1788, p. 52). Under "Providen. Militar." however, he quotes from the first mentioned passage of Bentinck, a coin of Sertorius in *second brass*. This is an error, as, on referring to Bentinck, the coin is there stated to be of "silver." It is needless to add that these specimens must have been also forgeries.

Taking these facts into consideration, I cannot but conclude, as I feel sure every numismatist must do, that the coin of Sertorius, with his head and his fawn, must still remain among the "as yet unknown silver coinage of the Roman civil war." A forgery, identical with the coin published by M. Rapp, and another slight variety, exist among the "forgeries" in the British Museum.

F. W. M.

MISCELLANEA.

THE FIGURES XCVI ON COINS.—In vol. v., p. 387, of M. Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*, there is a long note on the coins of Diocletian and Maximian Hercules with the figures XCVI on the reverse, in which he gives the various interpretations by Borghesi, Cavedoni, Marchant, &c. The argument he adduces against these numbers signifying "96 pieces to the pound of silver" is, that in the cabinet of Vienna there is a coin of Diocletian and of Maximian, according to Banduri, with the figures XCVIIT, which have been explained by Cavedoni (*Ann. Arch.*, 1860, p. 442), as XCVI *italicam* [*libram*]. The *errata* of M. Cohen (vol. vi. p. 627) now point out that Eckhel and Banduri both misread these coins, a fact, as regards the Vienna one, confirmed by the late M. Arneth (Cavedoni, *Bull. dell' Instit.*, 1863, p. 220). The coins with these figures,

as at present known to us, consist of XCVI, XCVIAQ (struck at Aquileia), and XOVIT (struck at *Tarraco*, not Trèves as Cavedoni, *l. c.*). A coin of Constantine I., struck at Carthage, with the legend CONSERVAT. KART. SVAE, also has the figures XCVI in the *exergue*. (Cohen, vol. vi. p. 98, No. 38.)
F. W. M.

BERBIS OF PANNONIA?—In the third volume of the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., p. 104, the Rev. Churchill Babington published two coins, of Faustina II. and Commodus, with the legend OYEPBIANΩN, attributing them, for reasons there given, to Berbis in Pannonia. At p. 196 of the same volume, M. A. de Longpérier suggested that the *Berbiani* might be found on the road to Odessus, along the Dniester, as the coins had an Odesian or Tomian appearance. It seems to have escaped the notice of both these gentlemen that a coin of Julia Mamæa, with the same legend, was published in 1861, in the *Annali dell' Instit.*, 1861, p. 353, by M. A. Postolacca, and attributed by him to *Verbiana* in Pamphylia. M. Cavedoni (*Bull. dell' Instit.*, 1863, p. 215) strongly objects to the attribution of Mr. Babington, and even prefers that of Mr. Borrell, to *Verbiana*, a city of Phrygia or Lydia (Oct. Borrell, *Sale Cat.*, 1862, No. 80), saying, that the argument of Mr. Babington—which supposes the adjective derived from *Verbiana*, would rather be *Ουερβιανέων* than *Ουερβιανών*—is of no value, as we already know of BPIANΩN on a coin of Briana (Num. Chron. vol. viii., p. 18; *Ann. Arch.*, 1861, p. 149). Moreover, Hierocles, in his *Συνέκδημος* or “Travelling Companion” (ed. Wesseling, 1735, p. 680), could just as well have written *Βέρβις* or *Βερβία*, as Suidas, who writes *Δάλδεις*, could have written *Δάλδην* or *Δάλδια* (Wesseling, *ad Itin.*, p. 670), and of this latter place there are coins with ΔΑΔΔΙΑΝΩN; so that BEPBIANΩN could very well be OYEPBIANΩN by the change of B and V. Cavedoni, besides, considers the types of these coins to be appropriate to the cities of Pamphylia or Phrygia, and cites a list of names of cities from Phrygia and Lydia, ending in *ιανος*—ΚΑΥΣΤΡΙΑΝΩN, ΚΙΑΒΙΑΝΩN, ΔΑΔΔΙΑΝΩN, ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩN, &c. The question is worthy of Mr. Babington's consideration..
F. W. M.

PATTERNS FOR THE NEW COINAGE FOR HONG KONG.—The following list comprises all the varieties from which a selection was ultimately made:—

PATTERNS FOR THE SILVER COINAGE OF HONG KONG.

1. *Obv.*—Between two laurel branches TEN | CENTS.
Legend—HONG-KONG, and at bottom the date, 1862.

Rev.—A small circle surrounded by four Chinese characters: above, "Heang;" below, "Keang;" at the side, to right, "Yih" (one); to left, "Haou" (denomination of the coin). Size of the half-farthing.

2. *Obv.*—VICTORIA D: G: REG: Lower legend—NEW BRUNSWICK. The Queen's head laureate to the left. *Rev.*—Same as *Obv.* No. 1.
3. *Obv.*—VICTORIA — QUEEN. Crowned bust of the Queen to the left, same as on the India coinage. *Rev.*—Same as No. 1.

The coin approved of is the following :—

Obv.—VICTORIA — QUEEN. Crowned bust of the Queen to the left, as on the florin. *Rev.*—HONG-KONG. Lower legend, TEN CENTS 1863, between rosettes. Within a beaded circle the four Chinese characters as above, and in the middle a dot.

PATTERNS FOR THE COPPER COINAGE OF HONG KONG.



I.—*Cents* :—

1. *Obv.*—Between two laurel branches a small circle; above, ONE; below, CENT. Legend—HONG-KONG between two small crosses; at bottom, 1862. *Rev.*—In the middle a small circle surrounded by four Chinese characters, placed crosswise; at top and bottom, "Heang," "Keang;" to the sides, from right to left, "Yih" "Sëen" (one cent). Penny-size.
2. Same as before; to the left of the date, a hammer and retort¹ crossed; to the right, a lion passant to left.
3. Same as No. 2, but to the left of the date a lion passant to right.
4. Same as No. 1. The date between a regal crown and a griffin.
5. *Obv.*—Same as No. 1. The date between an anchor and a lion passant to left. *Rev.*—Same as No. 1. Within the small circle St. George and the Dragon; "Heang," between the anchor and lion passant; "Keang," between R. M. (Royal Mint) and T. G. (Thomas Graham).

¹ The intended mint mark of the Royal Mint, being emblematical of mechanics and chemistry.

6. Same as last. In *Obv.* within the circle a regal crown; and instead of the small crosses, to the left T. G., to the right R. M.
7. *Obv.*—Same as No. 3; and within the circle a regal crown. *Rev.*—Same as No. 5.
8. *Obv.*—Within a beaded circle ONE CENT | a small bar | HONG KONG | 1862. *Rev.*—Same as No. 1. Another specimen with *Rev.* as No. 6.
9. *Obv.*—VICTORIA D: G:—BRITT: REG: F: D: Bust of the Queen to the left, draped and laureate, as on the English bronze penny. *Rev.*—Same as No. 1.
 - a. The same, with *Rev.* same as *Obv.* No. 2.
 - b. The same, with *Rev.* same as *Obv.* No. 4.
 - c. The same, with *Rev.* same as *Obv.* No. 8.
10. *Obv.*—Same as No. 9. *Rev.*—HONG-KONG. Lower legend—ONE CENT 1863, between rosettes. Within a beaded circle the four Chinese characters as before, No. 1, and in the middle a dot.
11. *Obv.*—VICTORIA—REGINA. Crowned bust of the Queen to the left, as on the East India coinage. *Rev.*—Same as No. 1.
 - a. With *Rev.* same as *Obv.* No. 8.
 - b. With *Rev.* No. 10.
12. *Obv.*—VICTORIA — QUEEN. Crowned bust of the Queen to the left, as on the florin. *Rev.*—Same as *Obv.* No. 1.
 - a. *Rev.*—Same as *Obv.* No. 2.
 - b. *Rev.*—Same as *Obv.* No. 3.
 - c. *Rev.*—Same as *Obv.* No. 4.
 - d. *Rev.*—Same as *Obv.* No. 5.
 - e. *Rev.*—Same as *Obv.* No. 6.
 - f. *Rev.*—Same as *Obv.* No. 7.
 - g. *Rev.*—Same as *Obv.* No. 7, but instead of the small crosses, to left T. G., to right R. M.
 - h. *Rev.*—Same as *Obv.* No. 8.
 - i. *Rev.*—Same as No. 10.
 - k. The same as last, but only halfpenny size. This coin was approved of, with the alteration of the Chinese characters being placed closer together, and the dot in the middle being omitted.

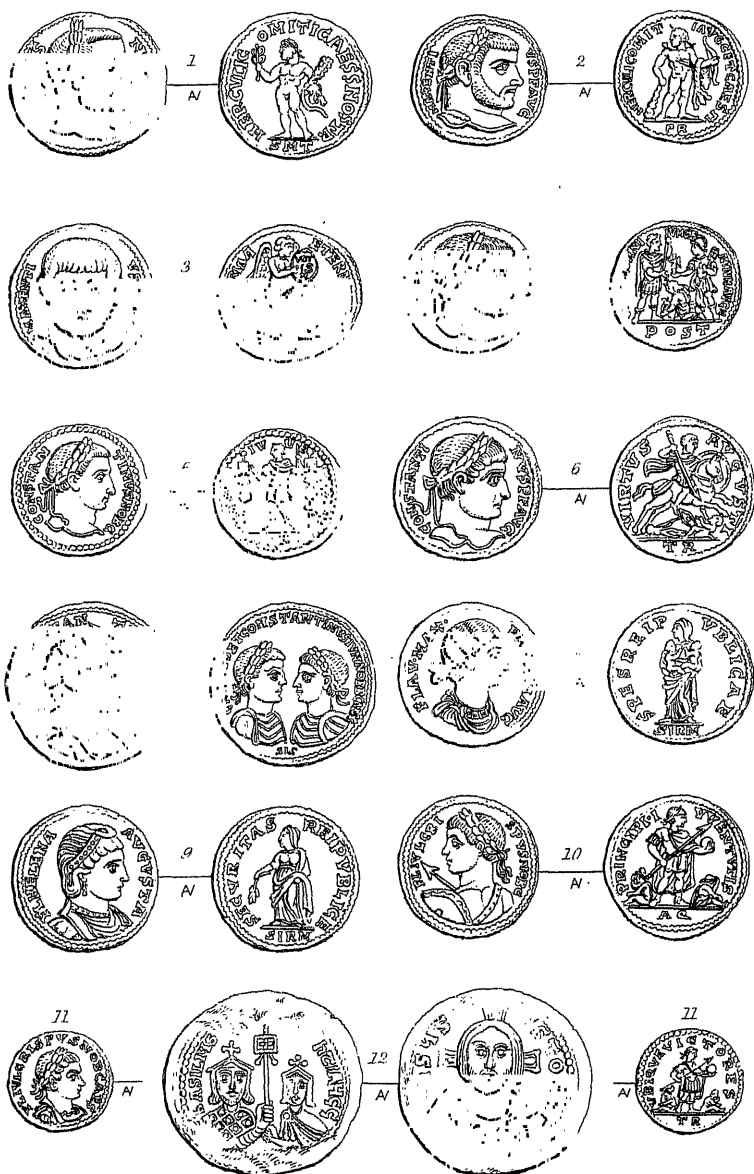
II.—*Cash, or Mil* :—

13. *Obv.*—HONG - KONG. Lower legend, ONE CASH. In the middle a round hole within a square. *Rev.*—The square as obverse, surrounded by four Chinese characters; above, "Heang;" below, "Keang;" and at the sides, to right, "Yih;" to left, "Oan" (cash). Size of the bronze farthing.
14. The same; but in the obverse, above the square, a regal crown; below,   (in Old English type); and to the sides 18 - 63.
15. Same as No. 13, with MIL instead of CASH.
16. *Obv.*—HONG - KONG. Lower legend, ONE CASH. In the middle a round hole; above, a regal crown; below, V R; and to the sides, 18 - 63. *Rev.*—Same as No. 13, without the square. Size of the silver three-penny piece.
17. Same as No. 16; the hole in obv. and rev. within a circle.
18. Same as No. 16; the hole in obv. and rev. within a square.
19. Same as No. 18; with MIL instead of CASH; without the dots in the legend, and the hole in obverse and reverse surrounded by a circle within the square. This coin was adopted, with the omission of the circles surrounding the holes.

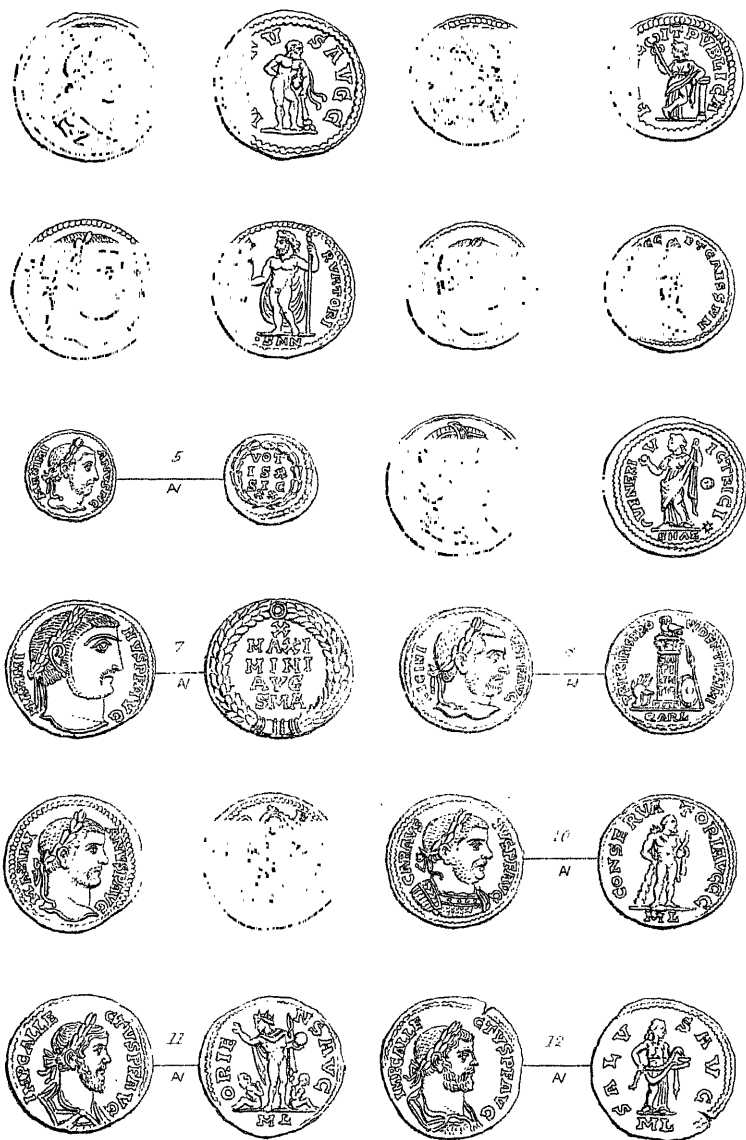
W. FREUDENTHAL.

MINT-MARKS ON CURRENT COINS.—On a portion of the gold coinage of 1863, and on the whole of that of 1864, a minute number is placed under the wreath on the reverse, and on the silver coinage of 1864 a similar number is placed—in the case of the sixpences and shillings on the reverse, under the wreath, and of the florins on the obverse, under the bust. These numbers are private marks, belonging to the dies. The coins of one denomination, which bear any particular number, are all from the same individual die, and a change of number on the coin indicates a change of die. Each denomination of coin has its own series of numbers, and they are reckoned from the beginning of the year. A high number will indicate a large coinage, the average number of pieces to a die being pretty uniform—100,000 sovereigns, for instance, to one die or number. By adding five ciphers, therefore, to the highest number observed on the sovereign of any year, the total number of sovereigns issued in that year will be approximately known. The same rule applies to sixpences. For shillings, on the other hand, the multiplier is not 100,000, as for the two former coins, but more nearly 60,000; and for florins 25,000.—*Athenæum*.

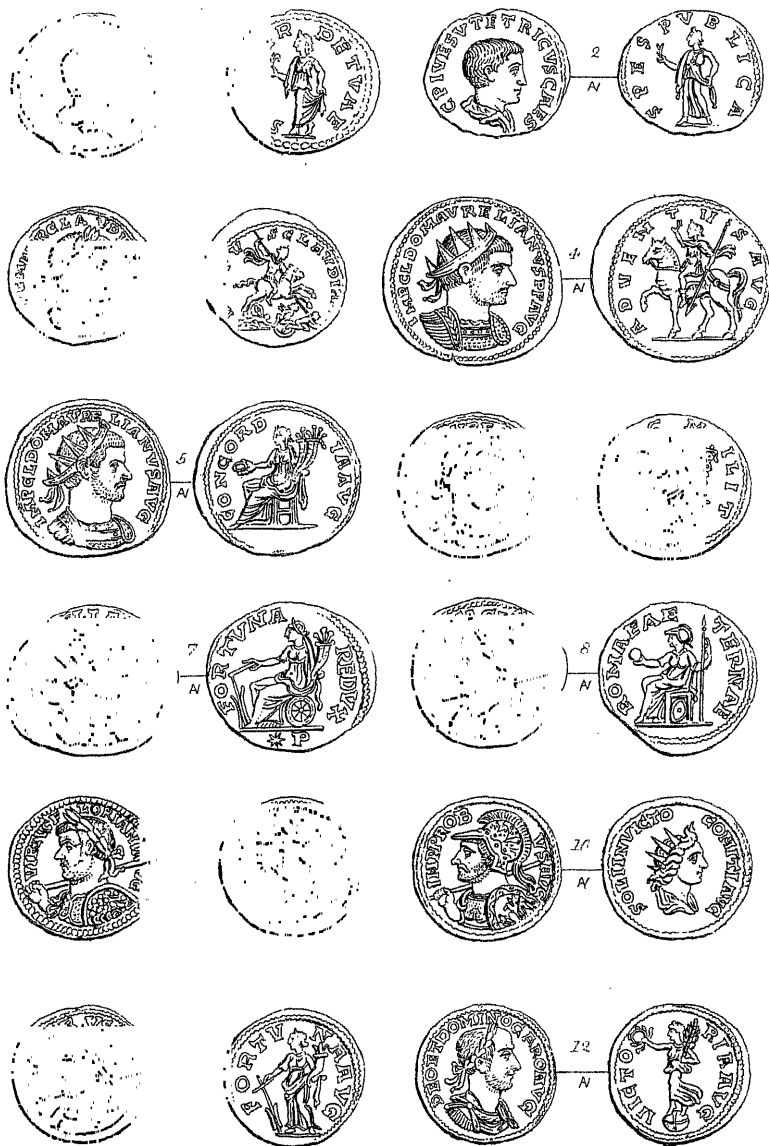




J. H. G. Smith, del. et sc.



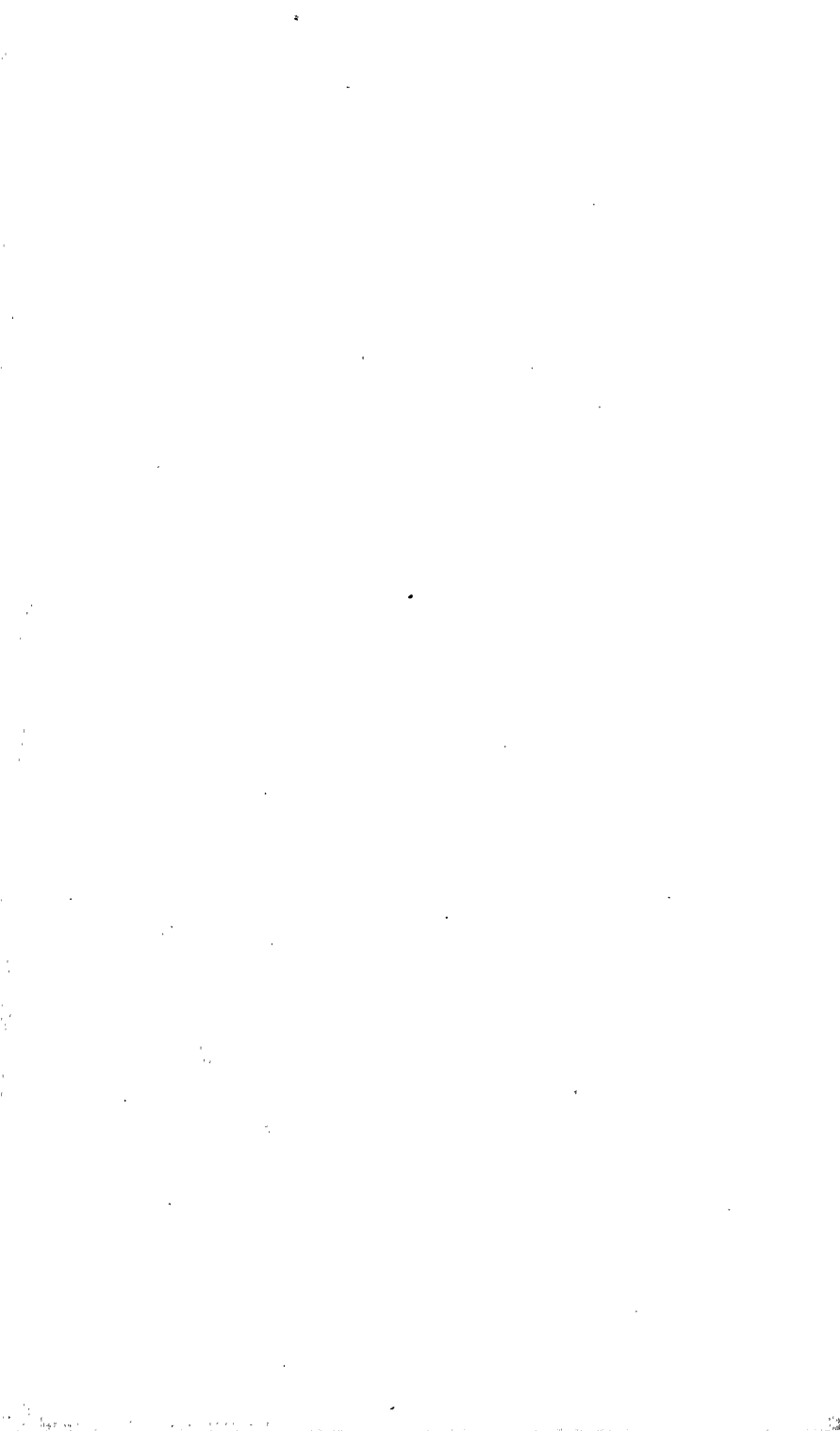
J.W. Fairholt, del. et sc.

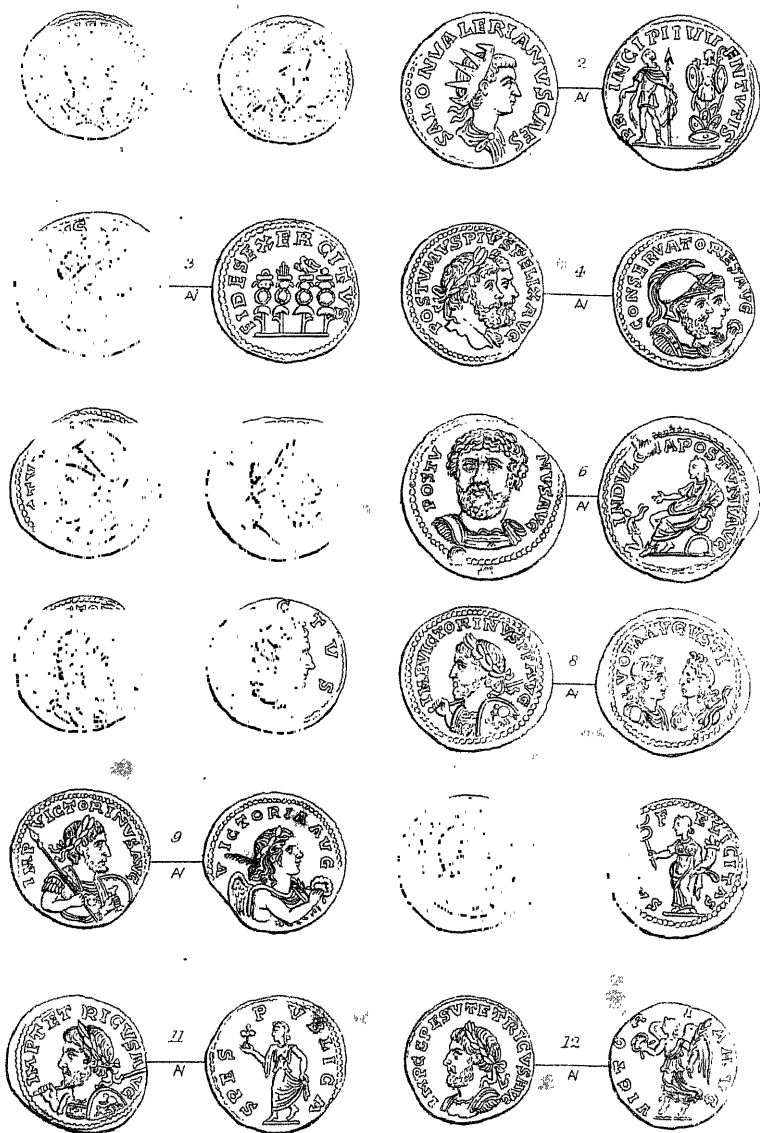


J. H. Fairholt, del et. sc.

COINS FROM THE WIGAN COLLECTION.

PL. VI.





J. W. Fairholt del. et sc.

III.

ACCOUNT OF A COLLECTION OF ROMAN GOLD COINS,

PRESENTED BY EDWARD WIGAN, ESQ., TO THE TRUSTEES OF
THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

(Continued.)

SALONINUS.

*136. *Obv.*—LIC. COR. SAL. VALERIANVS N. CAES.
Bust of Saloninus, to the right, bare, with
paludamentum.

Rev.—PIETAS AVGG. *Lituus*, knife, *patera*, sacri-
ficial vase, *simpulum*, and *aspergillum*? (Pl. V.,
No. 1.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 37).

*137. *Obv.*—SALON. VALERIANVS CAES. Bust of
Saloninus, to the right, radiated, with *paluda-*
mentum.

Rev.—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Saloninus, in
military dress, standing to the left, holding a
short wand and a spear; to the right, a trophy,
at the foot of which are five shields. (Pl. V.,
No. 2.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 45).

Both these coins belong to the eldest son of Gallienus, whose names, as we learn from coins and inscriptions, were "Caius, Publius, Licinius, Cornelius, Saloninus, Valerianus." Coins, however, with the legend SALON. VALERIANVS CAES. (like No. 137 above), have been classed by M. Deville, in an "Essay on the Coins of the

Family of Gallienus,"¹ to Saloninus Valerianus, who we learn from Aurelius Victor was the second son of Gallienus, and substituted by him in the place of his eldest son, who was killed by Postumus in A.D. 260. It may, however, be stated as a certainty, that if any coins could be attributed to the second son of Gallienus, they would necessarily be of the base metal of the later years of Gallienus, and hence a gold coinage would be out of the question.²

POSTUMUS.

*138. *Obv.*—POSTVMVS PIVS AVG. Head of Postumus, to the right, laureated and radiated.

Rev.—FIDES EXERCITVS. Four military standards, the two middle of which are surmounted, one with a hand and the other with an eagle. (Pl. V., No. 3.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 38).

The fidelity of the army to Postumus, who was elected by them in Gaul with acclamation, has already been alluded to under a coin of Gallienus, of a somewhat similar type. (No. 130 *q.v.*)

139. *Obv.*—POSTVMVS PIVS FELIX AVG. Head of Postumus, to the right, laureated, yoked to the bust of Hercules, also laureated.

Rev.—CONSERVATORES AVG. Bust of Mars, helmeted, with a cuirass, yoked to the bust of Victory, laureated, holding a wreath and palm. (Pl. V., No. 4.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 15).

*140. *Obv.*—POSTVMVS AVG. Bust of Postumus, to the left, helmeted, with the cuirass.

¹ *Rev. Num.*, 1861, p. 257.

² *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. i. p. 194.

Rev.—HERCVLI DEVSONIENSI. Head of Hercules, to the right, laureated. (Pl. V., No. 5.) **D.**

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 51).

The singular veneration of Postumus for Hercules must have often been observed by those who have examined any series of coins of this Emperor; but the question of the origin of this worship was never thoroughly investigated till M. de Witte wrote his able paper "On the Origin and Motives of the Worship rendered to Hercules by Postumus."³ M. de Witte has divided the coins of Postumus connected with Hercules into three classes: (1) those with different surnames, taken from places where Greek mythology have placed his exploits; (2) those which allude to the religion of the country which witnessed the victories of Postumus, and thus recall local epithets; and (3) those on which appear the attributes of Hercules, as emblems of the Imperial power assimilated with the power of the god.

From the extraordinary number of the coins bearing allusion to Hercules, it is remarkable that no statement in the history of Postumus affords us any clue why this emperor especially venerated this god. Of the several other emperors who especially worshipped Hercules—among whom may be mentioned Caligula, Nero, Galba, Hadrian, Commodus, Caracalla, and Severus Alexander—there are historical statements, as well as in most cases, numismatic examples illustrative of their devotion to this deity; of Postumus we only know that he followed the example of Commodus in calling himself *Hercules Romanus* (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 65). It would indeed appear, as M. de Witte states, that Postumus, not possessing

³ *Rev. Num.*, 1844, p. 330.

Italy or the capital of the empire, imitated in every possible manner the customs at Rome, especially as we find that he created a senate in Gaul (attested by the coins with S. C.), and even struck coins with the legend ROMAE AETERNAE (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 152). But another and even stronger reason for this worship seems to be the remarkable likeness between Postumus and Hercules, as any one may see on examining his coins, and it may be assumed as nearly certain that this resemblance had much influence on Postumus in his selection of a tutelary deity.

Yet, notwithstanding this, Postumus often is represented with the attributes of Mars, and it will be seen that the bust of this god occurs upon the reverse of the coin above (No. 139). This is easy of explanation, when we remember that Mars was also one of the tutelary gods of Rome, and next to Jupiter enjoyed the highest honours. Mars, as the god of war, and Hercules, as his protector, were fitting deities for such a powerful usurper as Postumus, and the coinage itself is a convincing proof of his power, for not only are his gold pieces of beautiful workmanship, but even his *denarii* of billon far surpass those struck during the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus.

The reverse type of No. 140, which belongs to what M. de Witte terms the "second class," has the legend HERCVLI DEVSONIENSI. This legend appears to have much puzzled all who have met with it, for I am unable to find the reason for its adoption satisfactorily explained. I think it may be assumed that Hercules received this surname from some locality, and as we know that the limits of the empire of Postumus were contained in Gaul, Batavia, and the borders of the Rhine, the locality must have existed in these countries.

Indeed, St. Jerome positively states that there was a place called *Deuso*, in the country of the Franks (Saxones cæsi *Deusone* in regione Francorum).⁴ This town Tristan has supposed to be what was called in the middle ages *Duizia*, and now *Deutz*, the town on the Rhine opposite Cologne; and perhaps it may be so, for *Deutz* was called by the Romans *Divitia*,⁵ and DEIOV is always changed into DIV., as may be seen from the coins of *Divitiacus*, an Æduan prince, where his name is given as ΔΕΙΟΥΙΧΙΑΚΟΣ, while a Gaulish coin of *Divona* has the legend ΔΕΙΟΥΙΝ.⁶ Eckhel, however, states that there is no occasion to cross the Rhine to identify this town, as on this side of it, at the present day, there are several towns (*oppida varia*) called *Duisburg*, which may take their origin from *Deuso*. Whether there be several towns of this name on this side of the Rhine I am unable to ascertain, but if so, they were towns of not the slightest importance at any period, and hence arises the objection of assigning the *Deusonian Hercules* to an obscure town. The same remark may also be applied to *Deutz*, which was only a fort, erected to maintain the bridge from Cologne.⁷ There is, however, a famous *Duisburg*⁸ in Rhenish Prussia,

⁴ In *Chron. Euseb.* an. 376.

⁵ Amm. Marcell., xxvi. 7; xxvii. 1.

⁶ Duchalais, *Des Méd. Gaulois*, No. 24.

⁷ It is here worth mentioning that there are small brass coins of Postumus existing, struck at Cologne (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 7, 10), with the legend COL. CL. AGRIP. (or C. C. A. A.), *Colonia Claudia Augusta Agrippinensis*. Does this fact assist the idea that a temple to Hercules was erected on the opposite side? For these Cologne coins, see *Rev. Num.*, 1862, p. 41; and *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1862, p. 78.

⁸ I find in a German geographical dictionary that this Duisburg was called *Castrum Deusonis*, but there is no authority given for it; it is also named *Dispargum* (J. H. Möller,

called in Roman times *Teutiburgium*, or *Teutoburgium*, on a mountain near which the Roman legions under Varus in A.D. 9 suffered so severely. This town also appears to be *trans Rhenum*.

In concluding these unsatisfactory remarks, it may be mentioned that the authors of *La Religion des Gaulois*⁹ think this Hercules is the same as the *Hercules Magusanus* of other coins of Postumus, an opinion in which I cannot participate. This *Magusanian* Hercules seems to be almost as obscure as the *Deusonian*, though several suggestions have been made.¹⁰ An inscription to this deity is said to have been found in *West-cappel*, an island on the Scheldt.

*141. *Obv.*—POSTVMVS AVG. Three-quarter bust of Postumus, to the left, with the cuirass.

Rev.—INDVLG. [P]IA POSTVMI AVG. Postumus seated to the left in a curule chair; at his feet a captive on his knees, supplicating. (Pl. V., No. 6.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 72). The bust is not radiated as stated by Cohen.

This remarkable coin is in a magnificent state of preservation, and is the more interesting from having a three-quarter bust. Coins with either this form of bust or full-faced are not often met with in the Roman series: a list of them, therefore, has been given in previous papers of the Numismatic Chronicle.¹¹ Excepting that the "indul-

Geographisch-Statistisches Handwörterbuch, s. v. *Duisburg*. Gotha, 1840). *Dispargum* is also a name for *Disburg*, or *Burgscheidungen*, in Thuringen (J. G. Th. Graesse, *Orbis Latinus*, s. v. *Dispargum*. Dresden, 1861).

⁹ iii. c. 8.

¹⁰ Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vii. p. 444.

¹¹ N.S., vol. ii. p. 46; vol. iii. p. 119.

gence of Postumus" is made more marked by being called "pious," the reverse of this coin offers no peculiarity.

VICTORINUS I.

*142. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. VICTORINVS P. F. AVG.
Bust of Victorinus, to the right, laureated, with cuirass.

Rev.—INVICTVS. Bust of the sun, to the right, radiated. (Pl. V., No. 7.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 28).

The worship of the Phœnician sun-god "Elagabal" was introduced into Rome by Elagabalus, who made himself the *Invictus Sacerdos*. The legend *Invictus* (*sc.* Sol) is more unusual than the legend SOLI INVICTO COMITI AVG., which is of frequent occurrence on the coins of the later emperors.

143. *Obv.*—IMP. VICTORINVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Victorinus, to the left, laureated, with cuirass, on which is the head of Medusa, and armed with a spear and a shield, on which are represented two figures, one vanquishing the other.

Rev.—VOTA. AVGVSTI. Busts, facing each other, of Apollo, laureated and with *paludamentum*, and of Diana, with a bow over her shoulders. (Pl. V., No. 8.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 83; engraved pl. iii.).

*144. *Obv.*—IMP. VICTORINVS AVG. Half-length bust of Victorinus, to the right, laureated, with cuirass, on which is the head of Medusa, and armed with a spear and shield.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVG. Bust of Victory, laureated, to right, with wings, holding wreath and palm. (Pl. V., No. 9.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, p. 76, No. 1; engraved pl. iii.).

These last two coins deserve a few remarks. They are

especially beautiful, and the busts on the reverses in each case seem much too good to be only intended for gods and goddesses; we, therefore, prefer supposing them to be portraits. But of whom? M. Cohen has already attributed the bust on the reverse of No. 144 to Victorina, the mother of Victorinus, and has suggested that the Diana on No. 143 is a portrait of Victorina. Certainly Victorina (or, as she is also called, *Victoria*) was a woman of some note, for according to Trebellius Pollio,¹² after the death of her son she was called *Mater Castrorum*, and coins of gold, silver, and brass were struck for her, especially at Trèves. This statement, in any case, as regards the silver and copper, cannot be received; and the copper specimen in the Pembroke collection (No. 1445) has already been pointed out as false. There cannot, however, be any reasonable doubt that her portrait occurs on the coin with the legend VICTORIA AVG., above described (No. 144), and if we allow this, and also that it is perhaps the same portrait on two other very rare coins of



Victorinus here engraved, the first in the British Museum, the other in the collection of the Duc de Blacas (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 37 and 60), the statement of Trebellius Pollio is not so untrue.

As regards the two busts on No. 143, it seems better to suppose that they represent the son and *daughter* of

¹² XXX. tyr. 6, 30.

Victorinus, rather than the mother, who would not be represented by a maiden divinity like Diana, and especially by one who was the *sister* of Apollo. Of this daughter we have no record, but the son was made Cæsar shortly before his father's death, and was killed himself soon after. An inscription at Cologne¹³ is said to record their interment, as follows:—HIC DVO VICTORINI TYRANNI SITI SVNT.

MARIUS.

145. *Obv.*—IMP. C. M. AVR. MARIVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Marius, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—SAEC. FELICITAS. Felicity standing to the left, holding a *caduceus* and cornu-copiæ. (Pl. V., No. 10.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 11), who describes Felicity as holding a *sceptre*, but, in all probability, erroneously.

The reign of this usurper was remarkable for its short duration, which did not exceed two, or at the most, three days; and yet the number of the coins that have come down to us far surpasses what we should have expected. M. de Witte suggests that when Marius arrived on the borders of the Rhine, he had already been proclaimed emperor in the West of Gaul, and that the legions recognised his authority for three days after the death of Lælian.

Marius was by trade a blacksmith, and if history may be credited, a man of singular strength. He is reported¹⁴ to have been able to drag a cart with his fore-finger, and to smash the strongest vehicles with one finger, as if they had been struck with wood or iron. This reminds us of

¹³ Treb. Poll., XXX. Tyr. 7.

¹⁴ Treb. Poll., XXX. Tyr. 8.

Maximinus, a man whose height exceeded eight feet, and whose wife's bracelet he employed as a thumb-ring, for he too was enabled to drag loaded waggons, to crush stones, and tear up trees. His digestive organs were also of the most peculiar nature, for he used daily to consume an *amphora* of wine (= 6 gallons) and from 40 to 60 pounds of meat.¹⁵

TETRICUS I.

*146. *Obv.*—IMP. TETRICVS AVG. Bust of Tetricus I. to the left, laureated, with the cuirass, armed with a spear and a shield, on which are represented two figures, one vanquishing the other.

Rev.—SPES PVBLICA. Hope walking to the left, holding a flower, and raising her dress. (Pl. V., No. 11.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 26).

147. TETRICUS I. *Rev.*—VIRTVS AVG. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 34.) D.

*Φ148. *Obv.*—IMP. C. G. P. ESV. TETRICVS AVG. Bust of Tetricus I., to the left, laureated, with cuirass.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVG. Victory running to the left, holding wreath and palm. (Pl. V., No. 12.) D.

*149. *Obv.*—IMP. C. TETRICVS AVG. Three-quarter bust of Tetricus I., to the right, bare, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—VOTIS DECENNALIBVS. Victory standing to the right, placing her foot on a globe, and writing X on a shield, which she holds on her knee. *Quinarius*. D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 38; engraved pl. vi.).

¹⁵ For further particulars concerning this monster, see *Capit in Max.*

TETRICUS II.

*Φ150. *Obv*.—C. P. ESV. TETRICVS CAES. Bust of Tetricus II., to the right, bare, with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—SPEI PERPETVAE. Hope walking to the left, holding a flower, and raising her dress (Pl. VI., No. 1.) D.

*Φ151. *Obv*.—C. PIV. ESV. TETRICVS CAES. Bust of Tetricus II., to the right, bare, with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—SPES PVBLICA. Same type. (Pl. VI., No. 2.) D.

The reverse only of this coin is given by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 5) from *Mionnet*.

The *prænomena* of Tetricus I. have hitherto been always stated to be *C. Pesuvius*, and those of Tetricus II. *C. Pesuvius Pivesus*. The writer of the article "Tetricus" in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Biography* says, "The family designation *Pesuvius* or *Pesubius* seems established, beyond a question, by coins and inscriptions; but we cannot so readily admit *Pivesus*, which Eckhel supposes to have been derived by the son from a mother *Pivesa*. In the first place, *Pesuvius* and *Pivesus*, or their contractions, are never found together upon the same piece. Secondly, *PIVESVS* (*sic.*), *PIVES*, and *PIV*, appear only on the silver and small brass coins, all of which are of rude and inferior workmanship; while the gold, which are executed with care and skill, present uniformly *C. PES.* (*sic.*) *TETRICVS CAES.*, and hence we are inclined to conclude that *Pivesus* was a mis-pronunciation by barbarous lips of *Pesuvius*, and had no real existence as a distinct name."

The solution to this puzzle is to appear in M. de Witte's grand work "On the Gallo-Roman Tyrants;" mean-

while M. Cohen, (*Méd. Imp.*, vol. v. p. 162) gives us M. de Witte's opinion, which is, that the names of both father and son were *Pius Esuvius*, and for this M. de Witte guarantees strong proofs. A corroboration might at present be obtained by examining the engraving in Cohen (pl. vi.) of the fine brass medallion of Tetricus II., preserved in the *Musée de Grenoble*, where the legend may be read C. PIV. ESVVIVS TETRICVS CAES., and where also there appears to be just room for the S of *Pius* between PIV. and ESVVIVS. It is also to be hoped that an interpretation of the G (*Gnæus*?) on the obverse legend of No. 148 will at the same time be given.

The types of these coins do not offer any peculiarities, but the full-faced *quinarius* (No. 149) is a remarkable coin.

CLAUDIUS II.

*152. *Obv.*—IMP. C. M. AVR. CLAVDIVS AVG. Bust of Claudius II., to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—VIRTVS CLAVDI A[VG]. The emperor in military dress, on horseback, to the right, about to throw his spear against a prostrate enemy; others are under the horse. (Pl. VI. No. 3.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 17).

The reverse legend of this coin is erroneously described by Cohen as VIRTVS CLAVDII. A more careful examination convinces me that VIRTVS CLAVDI AVG is the correct reading. The type doubtless alludes to the victories of Claudius over the Goths, in A.D. 269, from which he gained the surname of *Gothicus*, a name he is generally known by. There appears to be only one small brass coin actually recording the victory by name, with

the legend VICTORIAE GOTHIC., and sometimes in the *exergue* S.P.Q.R. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 221).

AURELIAN.

153. *Obv.*—IMP. C. L. DOM. AVRELIANVS P.F. AVG.
Bust of Aurelian, to the right, radiated, with cuirass, and *ægis*.

Rev.—ADVENTVS AVG. The emperor, in military dress, on horseback, to the left, raising the right hand and holding a spear reversed. (Pl. VI., No. 4.) **D.**

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 2; engraved pl. v.).

*154. *Obv.*—IMP. C. L. DOM. AVRELIANVS AVG. Bust of Aurelian, to the right, radiated, with cuirass and *ægis*.

Rev.—CONCORDIA AVG. Concord seated to the left, holding *patera* and a double cornu-copiae. (Pl. I., No. 5.) **D.**

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 5); the bust erroneously described as *lauré*.

*155. *Obv.*—IMP. C. DOM. AVRELIANVS AVG. Bust of Aurelian, to the right, laureated, with cuirass and *ægis*.

Rev.—FIDES MILIT. Female figure standing to the left, holding two standards. In *exergue*, S. (Pl. VI., No. 6.) **D.**

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 12).

*156. *Obv.*—IMP. AVRELIANVS AVG. Bust of Aurelian to the right, radiated, with *ægis*.

Rev.—FORTVNA REDVX. Fortune seated to the left, on a wheel, holding rudder and cornucopiae. In *exergue*, * P. (Pl. VI. No. 7.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 15).

The reverse legends of the above-described coins of Aurelian do not offer us any basis for observation. The most interesting is the small medallion (No. 153) with the

legend ADVENTVS AVG., but we are unable to decide from which of his numerous victories it records his safe return.

Aurelian, called by his comrades for his prowess "Hand-on-Sword" (*manu ad ferrum*),¹⁶ was the first emperor who dared to put upon his coins the impious and arrogant titles of "God and Lord" (DEO ET DOMINO NATO AVRELIANO AVG., Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 170),¹⁷ though Domitian, at the amphitheatre, encouraged the mob to hail his empress and himself as "our Lord and Lady" (*Domino et Dominae feliciter*); and shortly after permitted his Procurator to write in a public document, "our Lord and God orders this to be done" (*Dominus et Deus noster hoc fieri jubet*).¹⁸ Carus also followed the example of Aurelian (see later). Augustus, on the contrary, was horrified when saluted as "Lord."¹⁹

TACITUS.

*Φ157. *Obv.*—IMP. CL. TACITVS AVG. Bust of Tacitus, to the left, laureated, with a cuirass, holding a spear and a shield, on which is the head of Medusa.

Rev.—ROMAE AETERNAE. Rome, helmeted, seated to the left, holding a globe and spear; beneath the chair a shield. (Pl. VI., No. 8.)

A variety of Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 9 and 12.)

¹⁶ Vopisc. *in Aurel.*, 6.

¹⁷ The mother of Aurelian having been priestess to *Sol*, no doubt influenced his worship of this deity, to whom he is said to have built a magnificent temple, and whom he addresses on coins as SOL DOMINVS IMPERI ROMANI (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 39—41).

¹⁸ Suet. *in Dom.* 13.

¹⁹ Suet. *in Aug.* 53; Dion. Cass. *lv.* 12.

FLORIAN.

158. *Obv.*—VIRTVS FLORIANI AVG. Bust of Florian, to the left, laureated, with cuirass, holding a spear and a shield.

Rev.—VIRTVS AVGVSTI. Mars, helmeted, naked, with a flowing mantle, walking to the right, and holding a spear and trophy; at his feet a captive with his hands tied behind his back. (Pl. VI., No. 9.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 8).

PROBUS.

159. *Obv.*—IMP. PROBUS AVG. Bust of Probus, to the left, helmeted, with cuirass, holding a spear and shield, on which is represented the emperor on horseback subduing a foe.

Rev.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI AVG. Bust of the sun, to the right, radiated, with *paludamentum*. (Pl. VI., No. 10.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 38; engraved, pl. viii.). Another example of this coin is in the British Museum, but the ornamentations of the helmet are different, and the bust of the sun much larger.

The obverse of this coin is a very good example of the "military" insignia of the emperor, this type of the bust not coming into great use much before this time, though the helmet is met with for the first time on the coins of Gallienus. I have already, in a previous article, called attention to the different modes of representing the bust of the emperors of this period.²⁰

Of the worship of the sun I have spoken under Uranius Antoninus, Victorinus, and Aurelian.

²⁰ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. i. p. 231.

CARUS.

- *160. *Obv.*—IMP. CARVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Carus, to the left, with cuirass, holding a spear and shield, on which is the head of Medusa.

Rev.—FORTVNA AVG. Fortune standing to the left, holding a rudder and a cornu-copiae. (Pl. VI., No. 11.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 3).

161. *Obv.*—IMP. C. M. AVR. CARVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Carus, to the right, laureated, with the *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—SPES PVBLICA. Hope walking to the left, holding a flower and raising her dress.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 10). A variety of this coin is in the Museum.

- *Φ162. *Obv.*—DEO ET DOMINO CARO AVG. Bust of Carus, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVG. Victory standing to the left on a globe, holding a wreath and palm. (Pl. VI., No. 12.)

A variety of Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 14; engraved pl. ix.).

I have already alluded to the title of "God and Lord," under Aurelian. From a small brass coin of Carus, with the same legend, and with the radiated busts of the sun and Carus (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 45, engraved pl. x.), it is probable that the *Deus* may refer to the sun as the deity, and the *Dominus* to Carus as the emperor. Still, finding these titles together, and only the bust of Carus on No. 162, the theory requires some modification; and Carus must be considered as impious and blasphemous as his predecessor Aurelian.

NUMERIAN.

163. *Obv.*—IMP. NVMERIANVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Numerian, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—VIRTVS AVGG. Hercules, naked, standing to the right, and holding a lion's skin, placing his right hand behind him and leaning with his left on his club, placed on a rock. (Pl. VII., No. 1.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 10).

CARINUS.

* 164. *Obv.*—IMP. CARINVS P.F. AVG. Bust of Carinus, to the left, laureated, with cuirass and *ægis*.

Rev.—FELICITAS PVBLICA. Felicity standing to the left, with her legs crossed, holding a *caduceus*, and leaning the left arm on a column. (Pl. VII., No. 2.) *Quinarius*. D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 4).

The reverse of this coin of this *homo omnium contaminatissimus* ²¹ does not offer any special peculiarities.

The period we are now entering upon, together with some of the coins of it we are about to describe, is interesting from many points; and more especially from two particular ones: (1) the division of the empire; and (2) the more prevalent introduction of *exergual* letters, most of which are now satisfactorily proved to be mint-marks.

Diocletian mounted the throne in A.D. 284, after having fulfilled the prophecy of the Druidical priestess, that he must first kill the wild boar (*aper*), the prætorian præfect, who murdered Numerian. Finding, however, that the empire was too large to manage, he resolved on taking a

²¹ Vopisc. in *Car.* 1.

colleague, and his choice fell on Maximian Hercules, whom he named *Augustus* at Nicomedia, in A.D. 286.

The proper management of the empire still being found too difficult to be undertaken by only two, it was determined to elect two *Cæsars*, who should take a share, and Diocletian selected, in A.D. 292, Galerius Maximianus and Maximian Constantius Chlorus. The empire was thus divided between four, and while Diocletian gave to his *Cæsar*, Illyricum, retaining Thrace, Asia, the East, and Egypt for himself, Maximian assigned to his *protégé*, Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Mauretania Tingitana, keeping for himself Rhætia, Italy, and Africa.²²

The Empire was by this means divided into East and West, and the Emperors who reigned in each respectively till it was again reunited under Constantine, were as follows:—

<i>East.</i>	<i>West.</i>
Diocletian.	Maximian Hercules.
Gal. Maximianus.	[Carausius and Allectus,
[Valeria.]	usurpers.]
Maximinus Daza.	Constantius Chlorus.
Licinius I., and	Severus II.
Licinius II.	Maxentius.

We shall first describe the coins of the Emperors of the East, and then those of the Emperors of the West.

EMPIRE OF THE EAST.

DIOCLETIAN.

165. *Obv.*—DIOCLETIANVS AVGVSTVS. Head of Diocletian, to the right, laureated.

Rev.—IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter, naked, standing to the left, a mantle hanging from his

²² Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ii. p. 44.

shoulders, holding a thunderbolt and sceptre. In the *exergue* S.M.N. (*Signata Moneta Nicomediá*). (Pl. VII., No. 3.) **D.**

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 47).

This coin was struck at Nicomedia, where, as above stated, Diocletian named Maximian Augustus, and associated him in the Empire. The reverse legend and type is one very prevalent at this period, and the more so as Jupiter was the favourite deity of Diocletian, in the same manner as Hercules was that of Maximian. We are told by Aurelius Victor that the former emperor took the title of *Jovius*, and the latter that of *Herculeus*—a fact more than once attested by the coins (see especially the large brass medallion published by Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Diocletian, Nos. 105, 115; Maximian, No. 126)—and assumed, according to the panegyrists, “in order to declare to the world that while the elder possessed supreme wisdom to devise and direct, the younger could exert irresistible might in the execution of all projects.”²³

GAL. MAXIMIAN.

*166. *Obv.*—MAXIMIANVS NOB. C. Head of Gal. Maximian to the right, laureated.

Rev.—PIETAS AVGG. ET CAESS. NN. Piety, standing facing, looking to the right, and holding two infants in her arms; on her right a child. In the *exergue* TR. (*Treviris*). (Pl. VII., No. 4.) **D.**

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 17), and incorrectly.

The same legend and type occur on a coin of Diocletian preserved in the Museum collection. The date of the adoption of Trèves as a place of mintage is uncertain; the mintage probably commenced before Diocletian; it

²³ Smith's *Dict. of Biography*, s. v. *Diocletianus*.

certainly ended with the death of Jovinus, of whom we have coins with the mint-marks TR., when the Franks in A.D. 413 sacked the town and reduced it to ashes.²⁴

*Φ167. *Obv.*—MAXIMIANVS N. C. Head of Gal. Maximian to the right, laureated.

Rev.—VOTIS X SIC XX within a laurel wreath.
(Pl. VII., No. 5.) *Quinarius*. D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 39) as *autrefois*, *Cabinet de M. Sabatier*.

On the vows of the emperors at this period M. Cohen has already made some observations; and we extract the following remarks from his work (*Méd. Imp.*, vol. v. p. 384):—"Public vows were made by the emperors from five to five years, or from ten to ten. Hence the reason that we find in the Upper Empire the legends VOTA SVSCEPTA DECENNALIA when the vows were made for ten years, and VOTA SOLVTA DECENNALIA when the ten years were accomplished or elapsed. At a later period the vows were suddenly carried on further than the limit, increasing five or ten years. It is for this reason that we meet with the strange forms (*phrases bizarres*) which appear to have no sense, as VOTIS X MVLTVS XX, SIC X SIC XX, VOTIS V MVLTVS X, VOT. XX SIC XXX, &c., which one must interpret, 'We make public vows for ten years, and for many more still (MVLTVS) up to twenty years;' or again, 'As (SIC) our vows are for ten years, so (SIC) are they for twenty years.' Often indeed, for flattery, the emperor anticipated the years far over the number which had elapsed since their fulfilment; for example, Valens only reigned fourteen

²⁴ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. i. p. 125.

years, and we find on his coins vows for twenty and thirty years (VOT. XX MVLT. XXX), whilst the vows for thirty years ought not to have been made till the twenty had expired."

The question of the distinction between the coins of Maximian Hercules and of Galerius Maximian, is one that need not be here discussed. M. Cohen has already devoted five pages of his work to its criticism.

VALERIA.

*168. *Obv.*—GAL. VALERIA AVG. Bust of Valeria to the right, with diadem.

Rev.—VENERI VICTRICI. Venus standing to the left, holding an apple and lifting her veil. In the *field* to left ⊕. In the *exergue* S.M.A.Σ. (*Signata Moneta Antiochia*, 7) between a crescent and a star. (Pl. VII., No. 6.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 2); but the legend is wrongly given as VENERI VICTRICI NKL V (in two monograms) XC. This coin at one time formed part of the Meynaert collection (see Meynaert, *Sale Cat.* p. 69; engraved pl. ii. No. 14. Gand. 1852).

The gold coins of this unfortunate lady, who was daughter of Diocletian and wife of Galerius Maximian, are of great rarity. Only four others exist, struck at Nicomedia (*Cab. des Médailles; British Museum*), at Serdica (*Cab. de M. le Duc de Blacas*), and at Siscia (*Cab. de M. Hoffmann*). A silver coin, struck at Alexandria, is only known from Banduri and Tanini, and not certainly genuine. There are, however, several second brass coins attributed to her.

MAXIMINUS DAZA.

*169. *Obv.*—MAXIMINVS P. F. AVG. Head of Maximinus Daza to the right, laureated.

Rev.—X. MAXIMINI AVG. S. M. A. (*Signata Moneta Antiochid*) in five lines within a laurel wreath. (Pl. VII., No. 7.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 30.)

170. MAXIMINUS DAZA. Rev.—CONSVL. P. P. PROCONSVL. In the *exergue* S.M.A.S. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1.)

171. " Rev.—IOVI CONS. CAES. In the *exergue* S.M. AS. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 6.) **D.**

172. " Rev.—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. In the *exergue* P.R. (*Prima Romæ*). (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 12.)

On No. 171 occurs the legend IOVI CONS. CAES., to which we have already alluded, under Diocletian. Maximinus Daza also received the title of *Jovius*, which is further attested by his coins (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 31, 129).

LICINIUS I.

*173. *Obv.*—LICINIVS P. F. AVG. Head of Licinius I. to the right, laureated.

Rev.—PRINCIPI S PROVIDENTISSIMI. Column, on which is written in three lines the word SAPIENTIA; on the top of the column an owl; to the left, at the base of the column, a helmet; to the right, a shield and a spear; in the *exergue* Q. ARL. (*Quarta Arelato*). (Pl. VII. No. 8.) *Quinarius*. **D.**

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 24).

This type is evidently connected with Minerva, and consequently a few remarks about this goddess will not be here out of place.

The Minerva at Rome was in all respects the same as Athena at Athens, and all the attributes of the latter were transferred to the former. Taking a rapid numismatic glance over the coins of those emperors who seem

more especially to have taken this goddess as a coin-type, we notice, first, that the statue of Minerva with the owl is represented on the estrade with the Emperor Nero and attendants on the occasion of his two *congiaria* (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 110—117). Some fine brass coins of Vespasian (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 407—410) give us the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, built by Vespasian, in which Minerva stands on the right of Jupiter, and Juno on the left; a type also occurring on the coins of Antoninus and Aurelius, and afterwards repeated by Hadrian on the coins struck by him for *Ælia Capitolina*.²⁵ The preference thus given to Minerva dates from an early period, for Livy,²⁶ writing of the year B.C. 363, says, “*Fixus [clavus] dextero lateri ædis Jovis Optimi Maximi, ex quâ parte Minervæ templum est.*” It thus appears that the Romans paid more veneration to Minerva than to Juno, and even Horace²⁷ says—

“Unde nil majus generatur ipso [Jovi]
Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum,
Proximos illi tamen occupavit
Pallas honores.”

The Emperor Domitian paid special and superstitious attention to Minerva (*superstitiose colebat*),²⁸ and ordered the *quinquatria*, a festival sacred to this goddess, to be celebrated every year in his Alban villa.²⁹ The goddess may be found represented on numbers of his coins. Minerva was also a “goddess of providence,” and as such is described on a coin of Septimius Severus (Cohen, *Méd.*

²⁵ F. W. Madden, *Hist. of Jewish Coinage*, p. 214, No. 3.

²⁶ Lib. vii. 3.

²⁷ *Carm.* i. od. 12.

²⁸ Suet., *in Dom.* 15.

²⁹ Suet., *in Dom.* 4.

Imp., Nos. 351—353). She is even called MINERVA SANCTA on a coin of the same emperor (No. 210). On many other coins, too numerous to mention here, the goddess or her attributes may be met with, and very often as “*Minerva Victrix*.”

The type of the above-described coin of Licinius occurs also on a gold coin of Constantine I., published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 92), from *Caylus* and *Beger*. It is rendered even more interesting by another of the coins of Licinius, the legend of which is SAPIENTIA PRINCIPIS, and the type an altar surmounted with an owl, a spear placed crosswise, with, to the left, a shield, and to the right, a helmet (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 130; cf. the similar coin of Constantine I., No. 450).

Minerva was recognised by the Greeks and Romans as the wisest of the goddesses, and the more so as her father, Jupiter, was lord of heaven, and her mother, Metis, the goddess of prudence. Indeed, Cicero expressly calls her *Sapientissima Dea*.³⁰ Hence “the wisdom of the most provident prince” is accompanied by her attributes on this coin; on the top of the column is the owl (γλαύξ);³¹ on one side the helmet, on the other the shield and spear, all three thus alluded to by Ovid³²—

“At sibi dat *clypeum*, dat acutæ cuspidis *hastam*,
Dat *galeam* capiti, defenditur ægide pectus.”

The *ægis* does not occur on any of these coins, but is of frequent occurrence on the bust of the emperors.

The mintage of coins at Arles was commenced under

³⁰ *Orat. pro Milone*, iii. 8.

³¹ Cf. γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.—Hom., *Il.* xviii. 227, &c.; sometimes γλαυκῶπις alone, *Il.* viii. 420, owl-eyed, large, fierce-eyed.

³² *Metamorph.* vi. 79.

Constantine I., and the letters ARL. occur for the last time on the coins of Constantius II. and III.; the coinage still continuing at this city, but under its new name of Constantina, which it received from Constantine I., when he improved the town and built a new one on the opposite side of the Rhone.³³ Respecting the interpretation of Q as *Quarta*, I have already elsewhere spoken at length.³⁴

174. LICINIUS II. *Rev.*—IOVI CONSERVATORI CAES.
In *exergue*, S. M. N. Δ. (*Signata Moneta Nicomediæ* 4.) (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 4.)

EMPIRE OF THE WEST.

MAXIMIAN HERCULES.

175. *Obv.*—MAXIMIANVS P. AVG. Head of Maximian Hercules, to the right, laureated.

Rev.—HERCVLI DEBELLAT. Hercules, naked, to the left, striking the hydra with his club, which he holds in his right hand, and seizing one of the heads with his left. In the *exergue*, P. T. (*Prima Tarracone*). (Pl. VII., No. 9.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 42).

To the assumption of the name of *Herculeus* by Maximian, I have alluded under Diocletian; and it is not therefore surprising that Hercules should occur in various forms upon his coins. The above type represents one of the twelve labours of Hercules—the fight against the Lernæan hydra, whom Hercules, with the assistance of Iolaus, eventually subdued, notwithstanding that for every head cut off two grew in its place, and that a large crab came to help the hydra. This type is very strikingly treated on a coin of Phæstus, in Crete, and with such

³³ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. i. p. 120; vol. ii. p. 60.

³⁴ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ii. pp. 48, 243, 244.

strict adherence to the Greek mythology, that even the crab is represented about to wound Hercules on his heel. The Roman coin of Maximian gives a poor idea of the admirable treatment of the type on the Cretan.

Coins were first attributed to the mint of Tarraco, which owes its origin to the Emperor Aurelian, of whom pieces are extant with the marks P., S., T., Q., V., and VI., XXT. (*Prima, Secunda, Tertia, Quarta, Quinta, and Sexta XXTarracone*),³⁵ by Mr. de Salis, and the Western fabric of the coins enables them to be easily identified from those coins of Thessalonica which also in some cases have the letter T.

176. MAXIMIAN HERCULES. *Rev.*—HERCVLI VICTORI.
In *exergue*, S. M. N. VI. (*Signata Moneta Nicomedia* 6.) (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 49.) **D.**

177. *Rev.*—XX MAXIMIANI
AVG. S. M. T. (*Signata Moneta Thessalonica*.) (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 118.)

CARAVSIUS.

* 178. *Obv.*—CARAVSIVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Carausius, to the right, laureated, with cuirass.

Rev.—CONSERVATORI AVGGG. Hercules, naked, standing to right, with a quiver on his right shoulder, and holding a club and a bow. In the *exergue*, M. L. (*Moneta Londinio*.) (Pl. VII., No. 10.) **D.**

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 12).

ALLECTUS.

* 179. *Obv.*—IMP. C. ALLECTVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Allectus, to the right, laureated, with the *paludamentum*.

³⁵ Num. Chron., N.S. vol. ii. pp. 49, 243.

Rev.—ORIENS AVG. The sun, radiated, half-naked, standing to the left, raising the right hand, and holding a globe ; at his feet two captives, seated. In the *exergue*, M. L. (*Moneta Londinio.*) (Pl. VII., No. 11.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 2).

* 180. *Obv.*—Same legend. Bust of Allectus, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—SALVS AVG. Female figure standing to the right, feeding a serpent which she holds in her arms. In the *exergue*, M. L. (*Moneta Londinio.*) (Pl. VII., No. 12.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 6).

The histories of Carausius and Allectus, the usurpers in Britain, are too well known to require any account here ; and the coin types do not offer any peculiarities of themselves worthy of special illustration. The coin of Carausius, with the three G's to AVGGG., alluding to Diocletian, Maximian, and Carausius, is very interesting, and in comparing its fabric with that of the coins of Maximian with the legend SALVS AVGGG. and the *exergual* letters M.L., we do not doubt that these latter were also struck in London by Carausius. The emperors were obliged to recognise him, and his determined character is shown by his striking a coin with the singular legend CARAVSIVS ET FRATRES SVI, giving his own head *radiated*, whilst those of his brothers, Diocletian and Maximian, are bare. This brass coin was struck at Colchester, and is very rare, if not unique : it is now in the collection of the British Museum.

The mint of London was not of long duration. It commenced, as we have seen, with Carausius, who issued coins there of Diocletian and Maximian. It is again met with on the coins of Constantius I. and Maximian II.,

and on those of the family of Constantine; and it exhibits as a rule the letters L., LN., and LON. Recent discoveries have also led to the attribution to London of certain coins of Maxentius with the *exergual* letters AVGOB. (struck at *Augusta*, 72), *Augusta* being the old name for London,³⁶ as suggested by Mr. de Salis.³⁷ The Museum has also lately acquired a barbarous coin of Theodosius I., with the same mint-mark.

181. CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS. *Rev.*—HERCVLI CONS. CAES. In the *exergue*, S. M. A. S. (*Signata Moneta Antiochiâ* 7). (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nc. 20.)

SEVERUS II.

- *182. *Obv.*—SEVERVS NOB. CAES. Head of Severus II. to the right, laureated.

Rev.—HERCVLI COMITI CAESS. NOSTR. Hercules, naked, but with the lion's skin, standing to the left, holding a branch of olive (?) and a club. In the *exergue*, S. M. T. (*Signata Moneta Tarracone*). (Pl. VIII., No. 1.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 9).

The special peculiarity about this coin is its *exergual* letters, it being the first example at present found giving the mint of Tarraco preceded by the letters S. M. (*Signata Moneta*). As I have already often shown in previous papers, and alluded to in this one under the coins of Maximian Hercules, the usual formula is P. T., S. T., &c. On comparing, however, the fabric of this coin, especially the head, with the brass coins of Severus indubitably struck at Tarraco, there cannot be the slightest doubt that

³⁶ Amm. Marcell., xxvii. 8; xxviii. 3.

³⁷ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. i. p. 122, note 5.

it was struck at that mint. Usually the letters S.M.T. signify that the coin was minted at Thessalonica, and it is worthy of observation that at present I know of no coins of Severus, though doubtless they exist, issued at the latter town. The mint of Tarraco ceases about the time that that of Arles commences, and it is probable that Constantine transferred the monetary establishment of Tarraco to his new capital.

183. SEVERUS II. *Rev.*—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. In the *exergue*, S.M.SD. (*Signata Moneta Serdica*). D.

MAXENTIUS.

*Φ184. *Obv.*—MAXENTIVS P. F. AVG. Head of Maxentius, to the right, laureated.

Rev.—HERCVLI COMITI AVGG. ET CAES. N. Hercules, naked, standing facing and looking to the left, with a quiver on his shoulder, leaning on his club, and holding a bow and a lion's skin on his left arm. In the *exergue*, P. R. (*Prima Roma*). (Pl. VIII., No. 2.) D.

* Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 11) from *Caylus*.

It was at Rome that Maxentius, in A.D. 306, rebelled against Severus, and was elected *Emperor* by general acclamation of the people, all Italy yielding at once, and Africa also acquiescing. He is known as *Cæsar* from coins only, and those that bear this title were struck at Carthage (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 5 and 88). They were probably issued in error by this mint, when Maxentius proclaimed himself emperor at Rome. A few years after (A.D. 311), this magnificent city suffered severely from fire and pillage, owing to the revolt of Alexander, the governor appointed by Maxentius.³⁸

³⁸ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ii. p. 54.

*Φ 185. *Obv.*—MAXENTIVS P. F. AVG. Full-faced bust of Maxentius, bare, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—VICTORIA AETERNA AVG. N. Victory, half-naked, standing to the right, holding a shield (on which is inscribed VOTIS X), on a pedestal, and placing her left foot on a prow; behind her, a captive seated on the ground, his hands tied behind his back. In the *exergue*, P. OST. (*Prima Ostia*). (Pl. VIII., No. 3.)

This coin appears to be the same as that formerly in the Pembroke collection (*Sale Cat.*, No. 1105). It is erroneously described by Cohen (No. 24), from the Pembroke catalogue, as having "the head laureated to the right."

*Φ 186. *Obv.*—MAXENTIVS P. F. AVG. Head of Maxentius, to the right, laureated.

Rev.—VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM AVG. N. Maxentius, in military dress, standing to the right, holding in the left hand a spear, and receiving a Victory from Mars, helmeted, standing to the left, holding a trophy; between them, a figure prostrate at the feet of the emperor. In the *exergue*, P. OST. (*Prima Ostia*). (Pl. VIII., No. 4.) D.

The reverse legend and type of this coin occur upon second brass coins of Maxentius (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 108).

The full-faced bust occurs upon other coins of Maxentius, two of which I have published in a previous paper,³⁹ and on many others of the Imperial series, to which I have already alluded under Postumus (No. 141). The reverse legend of No. 186 is in the usual superfluous and arrogant style of the period, for Maxentius never had any power either in Gaul, or in Illyricum, or in the East; though he is said to have celebrated a triumph at Rome

³⁹ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ii. p. 46.

after his disgraceful sacking of Carthage. Yet Maxentius, though considered a usurper, seems to have had much love and respect for his family, for he struck coins dedicated to his father (PATRI, Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 141—144); to Galerius Maximian, his father-in-law (SOCERO, Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 50, 51); to Constantius Chlorus, his relation⁴⁰ (ADFINI, Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 78; COGNATO, Nos. 79—82); and to Romulus, his son (FILIO, Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 4—7).

Respecting the proper interpretation of the letters P. OST., and their positive identification with the mint of Ostia, I have in a former paper spoken at some length.⁴¹ There is no doubt that after the defeat of Alexander the mint of Carthage was transferred by Maxentius to Ostia, and after the defeat of Maxentius by Constantine, to Rome. Though Gaul, as I have above stated, did not belong to Maxentius, yet some of his coins show that they were minted at Tarraco, these having probably been struck there in his honour by his brother-in-law, Constantine, previous to their quarrel.

Maxentius having been killed in A.D. 312, Constantine I. found himself sole Emperor of the West; and in the fol-

⁴⁰ The relation of Maxentius to Constantius Chlorus is rather complicated. Maxentius was the son of Maximianus Hercules and Eutropia, whose daughter, Flavia Theodora, by a former husband, had been united to Constantius Chlorus, when he was made Cæsar, Flavia being, in this way, half sister to Maxentius.

By this marriage of his step-sister with Constantius Chlorus, the latter became his brother-in-law.

But Maxentius had also a real sister, Fausta, who married Constantine the Great, son of Constantius Chlorus by his first wife, Helena.

Thus Constantine became the brother-in-law of Maxentius, and so both father and son were his brothers-in-law.

⁴¹ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ii. p. 46.

lowing year, by the death of Diocletian, the defeat and death of Maximinus, and in the year after by the defeat of Licinius, Constantine was enabled to add Illyricum to his dominions. In A.D. 323, the defeat and death of Licinius made Constantine sole master of the Roman world.

CONSTANTINE I.

*Φ 187. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS NOB. C. Head of Constantine I., to the right, laureated.

Rev.—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Constantine, in military dress, standing to the left between two standards, raising the right hand and holding a spear. In the *exergue*, TR. (*Treviris*). (Pl. VIII., No. 5.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 83) from *Caylus*.

Notwithstanding that Constantine in A.D. 306 was elected *Augustus* by the whole of the Western legions, yet Galerius refused to acknowledge him other than *Cæsar*, so that he was not actually Augustus till A.D. 307, when Maxentius and Maximian recognised him as such, Galerius himself being unable in the following year to withhold his consent.

*Φ 188. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Head of Constantine I., to the right, laureated.

Rev.—VIRTVS AVGVSTI. Constantine, on horseback, galloping to the right, about to spear an enemy lying under his horse's feet; shields and spears lie on the ground. In the *exergue*, TR. (*Treviris*). (Pl. VIII., No. 6.)

A somewhat similar coin, with the legend VIRTVS AVGVSTI N., and in the *exergue* P. TR. (*Prima Treviris*), is in the British Museum. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 146.)

189. CONSTANTINE I. *Rev.*—CONSTANTINVS AVG.
In the *exergue*, S. M. TS. (*Signata Moneta Thessalonica*). (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 43.)
190. " *Rev.*—P. M. TRIB. P. COS. IIII. P.
P. PROCOS. In the *exergue*, P. TR. (*Prima Treviris*). (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 78.)
191. " *Rev.*—VBIQVE VICTORES. In
the *exergue*, P. TR. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 108.)
Quinarius. D.

CONSTANTINE I., CRISPUS, AND CONSTANTINE II.

- * 192. *Obv.*—IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG. Bust
of Constantine I., to the right, radiated, with
paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—CRISPVS ET CONSTANTINVS IVN.
NOBB. CAESS. Busts of Crispus and Con-
stantine II., laureated, facing each other, with
the *paludamentum* and cuirass. In the *exergue*,
SIS. (*Siscid*). (Pl. VIII., No. 7.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 1) as "*autrefois cabinet de M. Dupré*."

FAUSTA.

193. *Obv.*—FLAV. MAX. FAVSTA AVG. Bust of
Fausta, to the right, bare.

Rev.—SPES REIPUBLICAE. Fausta standing facing,
looking to the left, holding two infants in her
arms. In the *exergue*, SIRM. (*Sirmio*).
(Pl. VIII., No. 8.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 3).

According to M. Cohen, the two infants represent the two eldest sons of Fausta, Constantine II., and Constans, so that in consequence the coin was probably struck in A.D. 317 or 318.

The names of Fausta, in Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*, are given as *Flavia Maximiana Fausta*, and naturally, for she was the daughter of Maximian Hercules. It appears, however, from her large medallions

(Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1), that the proper explanation of MAX. is *Maxima*.

The coins bearing the name of Fausta, with the title of *Nobilissima Femina*, or abbreviated N. F., are now proved to belong to this Fausta, and the small brass coins with these latter letters have helped to the proper attribution of the coins of Helena, to which I shall shortly allude.

The mint of Sirmium, which was established by Constantine I., continued to the time of Arcadius and Honorius, when its name totally disappears.

HELENA.

194. *Obv.*—FL. HELENA AVGVSTA. Bust of Helena, to the right, with diadem.

Rev.—SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE (*sic*). Female figure, veiled, standing to the left, holding a branch of laurel, and raising her robe. In the *exergue*, SIRM. (*Sirmio*). (Pl. VIII., No. 9.) D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 1).

The coins bearing the name of Helena have been for a long time a stumbling-block to Numismatists, as it could not be decided whether they should be attributed to Helena, the wife of Constantius Chlorus, Helena, the wife of Crispus, or Helena, the wife of Julian the Apostate, nor has the writer of the article "Helena," in Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*, arrived at a satisfactory conclusion, notwithstanding that articles had been written upon this subject by the Baron Marchant (*Lettres*, xvii.) and by M. Ch. Lenormant (*Rev. Num.*, 1843, p. 88), satisfactorily settling the question. Eckhel, in his dissertation on this point, concludes by assigning certain coins to each of these ladies, but only gold coins to Helena, wife of Julian, and principally because of the

word REIPVBLICE, a form very prevalent at that period. It would be useless to here repeat the arguments *pro* and *con* in this question, as they have already been laid before English readers by the late Dr. W. H. Scott.⁴² Suffice it to say that *all the coins bearing the name of Helena* are to be restored to Helena, wife of Constantius Chlorus.

As Helena was repudiated by Constantius Chlorus immediately after his accession to the throne in A.D. 292, it does not require any great stretch of imagination to suppose that none of her coins were struck during the lifetime of her husband.

After the death of Constantius Chlorus and the rise of Constantine into power (A.D. 306), Helena, who had been leading a private life, was recalled by her son, made *Augusta*, and, according to Eusebius, *gold coins were ordered to be struck with her effigy* (χρυσοῖς τε νομισμασι καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐκτυποῦσθαι εἰκόνα),⁴³ a statement repeated by Theophanes, but without naming the metal. Hence, it is proved that certain gold and brass coins of Helena were struck by Constantine in honour of his mother during her life-time. The brass coins are of third brass size.

There are some brass coins of Helena bearing the letters N. F. (*Nobilissima Femina*), similar in every respect to those of Fausta above alluded to. These coins have been classed by Marchant to A.D. 307, in which year Constantine took in marriage Fausta, and not being himself universally recognised as Augustus, could not bestow upon his wife the title of Augusta, but was content to call her *Nobilissima Femina*, and at the same time issue coins of his mother with the same title.

The small brass coins of Helena, with the legend in the

⁴² Num. Chron., vol. xv. p. 188.

⁴³ Euseb., *Vit. Const.*, iii. 47.

dative case, as well as those of his mother-in-law, Theodora, were struck by Constantine after their deaths. It will be seen that they do not bear the title *Diva*, for they were both Christians.

Helena does not appear to have borne the name of *Maxima*, as did Fausta, for the coin on which this name occurs is only given by Eckhel on the authority of Strada and Tristan.

The orthography of REIPVBLICE (*sic*) was Eckhel's strongest point in favour of these coins belonging to the period of Julian; but he could not have been aware that the same form occurs upon the coins of Fausta (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 11), and of Magnentius (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 29) some years previous to the reign of Julian.

Notwithstanding, however, that all the coins bearing the name of Helena are thus restored to the wife of Constantius Chlorus, M. Cohen has attributed to Helena, wife of Julian, the coins with the name and attributes of *Isis Faria*—how far correctly, I am unable at present to say.

And now a few words respecting the type of the coin of Helena we have described above. According to M. Ch. Lenormant⁴⁴ it does not represent the "figure of security," but rather *a statue of Helena*, to whom the long *stola*, the veiled head, and the branch of laurel would admirably apply. According to Suidas, Constantine raised a statue to his mother in the *faubourg* of Antioch, called *Daphne*, and hence the branch of laurel (δάφνη) may, possibly, allude to the locality where the statue was placed.

195. HELENA. A barbarous coin.

⁴⁴ *Rev. Num.*, 1843, p. 98.

This coin has already been treated of by Mr. Evans,⁴⁵ who has given a woodcut of it. It is thought to be an amulet, as during the middle ages the coins of Helena were supposed to be endowed with healing powers. It seems to have been imitated from a coin of Constans, and though looking very like a Roman coin, is assigned conditionally, by Mr. Evans, to the fifth or sixth century of our era.

CRISPUS.

*Φ196. *Obv.*—FL. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Bust of Crispus to the left, laureated, showing the back, across which is slung a band, to which is fixed a shield; he also holds a spear.

Rev.—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Crispus, in military dress, standing to the right, holding spear and globe; at his feet a captive on either side. In the *exergue*, AQ. (*Aquileid*). (Pl. VIII., No. 10.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 13), from *Tanini*.

* 197. *Obv.*—FL. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Bust of Crispus to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—VBIQVE VICTORES. Crispus standing to the right, in military dress, holding spear and globe; at his feet, on either side, a captive seated on the ground. In the *exergue*, TR. (*Treviris*). (Pl. VIII., No. 11.) *Quinarius*. D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 16).

There is also a coin of Constantine I., precisely similar (excepting the *exergual* letters) to this one, in this collection, and mentioned above (No. 191).

⁴⁵ *Num. Chron.*, vol. xx. p. 43.

EMPIRE OF THE WEST.

CONSTANTINUS II.

- * 198. *Obv.*—D.N. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. CAES.
Bust of Constantine II. to the right, laureated,
with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Constantine II.
laureated and in military dress, holding a
standard and a sceptre; behind, two standards;
in the *exergue*, SIRM. (*Sirmio*). D.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 6). Small medallion.

Crispus and Constantine II. were made *Cæsars* in A.D. 317. The former was put to death by his father in A.D. 326, at the instigation of his stepmother, Fausta; the latter, in A.D. 335, took a share of the Western Empire with his brother Constans.

199. CONSTANS. *Rev.*—VICTORIAE DD. NN. AVGG.
In the *exergue*, SIS. (*Siscid*). (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 23.) Small medallion.

EMPIRE OF THE EAST.

CONSTANTIUS II.

- *ϕ 200. *Obv.*—D.N. CONSTANTIVS P. F. AVG. Head of
Constantius II. to the right, with diadem.

Rev.—GLORIA REIPVBLICAE. Rome, helmeted,
seated facing, and Constantinople, turreted,
seated to the left, the right foot placed on the
prow of a ship, holding between them a shield,
on which is inscribed VOT. XXXX.; both
hold spears. In the *exergue*,* TES * (*Thessa-*
lonicid).

This coin is probably the same as the one published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 89) from *Caylus*, though he gives the obverse legend as CONSTANTIVS P. F. AVG., and the type, "bust with diadem to the right, and with *paludamentum*."

201. CONSTANTIUS II. *Rev.*—GLORIA REIPUBLICAE.
In the *exergue*, S.M.N. (*Signata Moneta Nicomēdid*). (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 74.)

Constantius II. died in A.D. 361, and Julian became sole Emperor.

From this time to the period of Theodosius I. there are no coins in the present collection; so, passing over the next 34 years, we arrive at A.D. 395, the year of the death of Theodosius I., and final division of the Eastern and Western Empires. Arcadius became Emperor of the East, and Honorius of the West. The latter empire came to an end not many years after, and its coins form the concluding portion of M. Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*; whilst the former existed for many years, and is treated of separately by M. Sabatier in his *Monnaies Byzantines*.

The few coins of these two series in the collection are of the usual style and types, except in one instance, and therefore I shall only give references to the two works of Cohen and Sabatier.⁴⁶

EMPIRE OF THE WEST.

202. CONSTANTINE III. *Rev.*—VICTORIA AAAVGGGG.
In the *field*, LD. (*Lugduno*); in the *exergue*,
COMOB. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 4.)
203. VALENTINIAN III. *Rev.*—No legend. In the *exergue*,
COMOB. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 26.) *Tremissis*.
204. AVITUS. *Rev.*—VICTORIA AVGGG. In the *field*,
AR. (*Arelato*); in the *exergue*, COMOB. (Cohen,
Ib., No. 1.)

⁴⁶ *Description générale des Monnaies Byzantines frappées sous les Empereurs d'Orient depuis Arcadius jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par Mahomet II.* Svo. Vols. I., II. Paris, 1862.

205. MAJORIAN. *Rev.*—VICTORIA AVGGG. In the *field*, AR. (*Arelato*); in the *exergue*, COMOB. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1.)
206. JULIUS NEPOS. *Rev.*—VICTORIA AVGGG. In the *field*, MD. (*Mediolano*); in the *exergue*, COMOB. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 2.)
207. " *Rev.*—No legend. In the *exergue*, COMOB. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 9.) *Tremissis*.

The successor of Julius Nepos, Romulus Augustus, or, as he was called by the Romans on account of his youth, *Augustulus*, was the last Emperor of the West, being deposed by Odoacer, chief of the Goths, in A.D. 476, who only took to himself the title of King.

"Thus," says M. Cohen, "ended the Empire of the West, in the year 1229 of the foundation of Rome (A.D. 476), 521 years since Julius Cæsar was declared perpetual dictator, 507 years after the battle of Actium, 502 years since the government, by the will of the senate, received a monarchical form, decreeing to Octavian the grand surname of *Augustus*, and 146 years since Constantine destroyed the ancient prestige of Rome in transferring the seat of the empire to Constantinople."

It is a fact worthy of notice that the last Emperor of the West bore the names of the first King of Rome (Romulus) and of the first Emperor (Augustus).

EMPIRE OF THE EAST.

208. ARCADIUS. *Rev.*—VICTORIA AVGGG. In the *field*, MD. (*Mediolano*); in the *exergue*, COMOB. (Sabatier, *Mon. Byz.*, No. 18.)
209. EUDOXIA, WIFE OF ARCADIUS. *Rev.*—SALVS REIPUBLICAE. In the *exergue*, CONOB. (Sabatier, *Ib.*, No. 3.)
210. PULCHERIA, WIFE OF MARCIAN. *Rev.*—No legend. In the *exergue*, CONOB*. (Sabatier, *Ib.*, No. 7.)

211. VERINA, WIFE OF LEO I. *Rev.*—VICTORIA AVGGG. In the *exergue*, CONOB. (Sabatier, *Mon. Byz.*, No. 1.)
212. ZENO. *Rev.*—VICTORIA AVGGG. Ⓞ In the *exergue*, CONOB. (Sabatier, *Ib.*, No. 1.)
213. „ *Rev.*—No legend. In the *exergue*, CONOB. (Sabatier, *Ib.*, No. 7.) *Tremissis*.
214. ANASTASIUS. *Rev.*—VICTORIA AVGGG. I. In the *exergue*, CONOB. (Sabatier, *Ib.*, No. 2.)
215. „ Ditto, ditto.
216. „ *Rev.*—VICTORIA AVGGG. S. Ditto.
217. „ *Rev.*—VICTORIA AVGGG. A. Ditto.
218. TIBERIUS CONSTANTINE. *Rev.*—VICTORIA AVGG. T. In the *exergue*, CONOB. (Sabatier, *Ib.*, No. 1.)
219. CONSTANS II. (Sabatier, *Ib.*, No. 2.)
220. CONSTANTINE IV. POGONATUS, HERACLIUS, and TIBERIUS. (Sabatier, *Ib.*, No. 3.)
221. CONSTANTINE IV. POGONATUS. (Sabatier, *Ib.*, No. 22.)
222. CONSTANTINE V. COPRONYMUS, and LEO III. (Sabatier, *Ib.*, No. 14.)

BASIL I. AND CONSTANTINE IX.

*Φ 223. *Obv.*—BASILIYS ΗΤ ΑΗΣ. Busts facing of Basil I. and Constantine IX., holding between them a long cross.

Rev.—ΙΗΣΥΣ ΙΣΤΟΣ *. Bust of our Lord facing. (Pl. VIII., No. 12.)

In consequence of the similarity of the obverse type of this coin to those known of Basil I. and Constantine IX., and of that of the reverse to the head of Christ on the coins of Michael III., it seems here to be correctly attributed. It weighs no less than 276·3 grs., and equals 4 *solidi*.

And now to speak briefly of the 72 coins selected on

account of their magnificent preservation. As they are all well-known coins, it will be sufficient merely to give their names, with references to Cohen.

1. CASSIA FAMILY. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, No. 14; engraved, pl. xi., *Cassia*, No. 11.) **D.**
2. CLAUDIA FAMILY. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, No. 13; engraved, pl. xii., *Claudia*, No. 8.) **D.**
3. BRUTUS. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 5; *Méd. Cons.*, No. 29; engraved, pl. xxiv., *Junia*, No. 18.) **D.**
4. J. CÆSAR. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 17; *Méd. Cons.*, No. 3; engraved, pl. xxviii., *Mumatia*, No. 3.)
5. M. ANTONY. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 63; *Méd. Cons.*, *Antonia*, No. 12; engraved, pl. xxix., *Mussidia*, No. 10.)
6. M. ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 4; *Méd. Cons.*, No. 8; engraved, pl. iii., *Antonia*, No. 7.)
- 7 to 15. AUGUSTUS. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 4, 68, 104, 120, 128, 143 [two specimens], 187, 192.) No. 143. **D.**
16. MONEYER OF AUGUSTUS. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 390). **D.**
17. AUGUSTUS, CAIUS, and LUCIUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 86.)
18. TIBERIUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 5.)
19. TIBERIUS and AUGUSTUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 4.)
20. NERO DRUSUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 3.) **D.**
21. ANTONIA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 1.)
22. CALIGULA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 7.)
- 23 & 24. CLAUDIUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, Nos. 39, 45.)
- 25 to 28. NERO. (Cohen, *Ib.*, Nos. 3, 5, 9, 64.) No. 5. **D.**
29. NERO & AGRIPPINA I. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 5.)
30. VITELLIUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 26.)
- 31 & 32. VESPASIAN. (Cohen, *Ib.*, Nos. 81, 197.)
33. VESPASIAN and DOMITILLA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 1.)
- 34 & 35. TITUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, Nos. 28, 53.)
- 36 & 37. NERVA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, Nos. 9, 15.)
- 38 to 41. TRAJAN. (Cohen, *Ib.*, Nos. 46, 95, 138, 289.)

- 42 GALBA RESTORED BY TRAJAN. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 251.) **D.**
43. NERVA RESTORED BY TRAJAN. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 124.) **D.**
- 44 to 49. HADRIAN. (Cohen, *Ib.*, Nos. 84, 174, 267, 489, 504, 518.) No. 518. **D.**
50. SABINA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 25.)
51. ANTONINUS PIUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 327.)
52. M. AURELIUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 150.) **D.**
- 53 & 54. FAUSTINA II. (Cohen, *Ib.*, Nos. 79, 81.) **D. D.**
- 55 & 56. L. VERUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, Nos. 39, 73.)
57. COMMODUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 106.) **D.**
58. PERTINAX. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 17.)
59. DIDIA CLARA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 1.)
- 60 & 61. J. DOMNA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, Nos. 84, 107.)
62. CARACALLA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 324.) **D.**
63. CARACALLA, SEPT. SEVERUS, and DOMNA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 2.) **D.**
64. GETA and CARACALLA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 1.) **D.**
65. ELAGABALUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 7.) **D.**
- 66 & 67. TRAJ. DECIUS. (Cohen, Nos. 25, 49.) No. 25. **D.**
68. HOSTILIAN. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 20.) **D.**
- 69 & 70. NUMERIAN. (Cohen, Nos. 1, 5.) **D. D.**
71. JULIAN. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 1.) **D.**
72. LICINIUS I. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 16.) **D.**

Before concluding this description, I may observe that the following coins, published by M. Cohen as being in the cabinet of Mr. Wigan, are not in the collection of that gentleman; or, at least, are not in the cabinet presented by him to the Museum, as containing his collection of Roman gold coins.

1. ANTONINUS PIUS. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 50.)
2. M. AURELIUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 20.)
3. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 35.)
4. COMMODUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 75.)
5. SEPT. SEVERUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 363.)

6. SEPT. SEVERUS (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 368.)
7. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 430.)
8. CARACALLA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 26.)
9. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 115.)
10. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 168.)
11. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 236.)
12. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 286.)
13. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 356.)
14. GETA. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 79.)
15. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 110.)
16. MACRINUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 50.)
17. ELAGABALUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 59.)
18. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 104.)
19. ALEX. SEVERUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 64.)
20. GORDIAN III. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 108.)
21. GALLIENUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 607.)
22. AURELIAN. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 1.)
23. PROBUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 29.)
24. CARINUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 3.)
25. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 27.)
26. DIOCLETIAN. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 58.)
27. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 61.)
28. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 64.)
29. MAXIMIAN I. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 20.)
30. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 23.)
31. CONSTANTIUS I. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 54.)
32. MAXIMINUS II. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 11.)
33. MAXENTIUS. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 1.)
34. CONSTANTIUS II. (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 101.)

Of these coins, *Antoninus*, Cohen, No. 50; *Aurelius*, Cohen, No. 20; *Caracalla*, Cohen, Nos. 26, 168; *Geta*, Cohen, No. 110; *Macrinus*, Cohen, No. 50; and *Probus*, Cohen, No. 29, are in the Museum collection. Where the remainder may be, I am unable to say.

The coin of *Caracalla* (Cohen, No. 168) has been noticed by M. Cohen in his *Errata* (vol. vi. p. 620), and *Musée Britannique*, is to be placed after it, whilst *Cabinet de M. Wigan* is to be transferred to No. 155. No. 155 does not, however, exist in Mr. Wigan's collection.

Three coins published by M. Cohen as being in the Museum, are in the collection of Mr. Wigan.

1. CASSIA FAMILY. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, (No. 17).)
2. POSTUMUS. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 38.)
3. „ (Cohen, *Ib.*, No. 93.)

In these statements relative to the coins published by M. Cohen from the Museum and Wigan cabinets, I do not guarantee to have mentioned every example. I only give those I have noticed in my examination of this collection.

I think I need not recall to the reader, who has followed me thus far in my remarks, the immense value and importance of this magnificent public gift.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

N.B.—By an oversight the letter **D** has been omitted after the name of Marciana (No. 57). The coin of Augustus (No. 20) is the same as that published by M. Cohen, consequently the star and the Φ are both mistakes. The star attached to the coin of Faustina I. (No. 75) is also a mistake, as other specimens exist. The number of coins only existing in this collection is, consequently, 92. The coin of Faustina (No. 76) is unpublished, and therefore there should have been a Φ before it. The same reverse type, with the obverse legend **FAVSTINA AVGVSTA**, is in the British Museum, as published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 93); and, consequently, my note attached to it is not correct. The unpublished coins number 35, and *not* 32, as stated early in the paper.

IV.

COINS OF THE PTOLEMIES.

(Continued.)

THE following letter, from M. J.-P. Six, of Amsterdam, who has kindly permitted its publication, renders it advisable that I should reconsider the principal matters discussed in the part of this memoir relating to the coins which are of the reign of Ptolemy I., or have his title ΣΩΤΗΡ in their inscriptions. I have thrown my observations into the form of a reply.

Monsieur,

C'est avec un vif intérêt que j'ai lu vos deux premiers articles sur les monnaies des Ptolémées, et je viens vous remercier de la bonté que vous avez eue de tenir compte de mon opinion sur le classement à Philadelphie des monnaies communément attribuées à Soter. Mais, quoique je reconnaisse toute l'importance de la série datée, qui ne m'était connue qu'en partie, et que je suis bien heureux d'avoir trouvé réunie dans votre mémoire, vous ne m'en voudrez pas, je l'espère, Monsieur, si je vous demande la permission de vous exposer les motifs qui m'ont portés à me former une opinion contraire à la vôtre—opinion que je ne ferais aucune difficulté d'abandonner, si votre classement pouvait résoudre les difficultés qui me paraissent subsister encore. Car M. Stark me semble avoir démontré que les villes de la Phénicie sont restées, après la bataille d'Ipsus, d'abord en possession de Démétrius, puis en celle de Séleucus, mais que Ptolémée I. n'en a pas été le maître dans ces temps là. (K. B. Stark, *Gaza u. d. Philistäische Küste*, Jena, 1852, p. 359—366). Les monnaies à la tête diadémée de Soter ne peuvent être antérieures à l'année 305 av. J. C., dans laquelle il prit le nom et les insignes de roi. De 306 à 302 la Phénicie resta au pouvoir

d'Antigone (Stark, Gaza, p. 358), et la courte expédition que Ptolémée fit en Célésyrie en 302 (Stark, Gaza, p. 359, 360) n'était vraiment pas un moment favorable pour introduire dans ce pays un monnayage si différent de poids et de types, des statères et des tétradrachmes Attiques et Phéniciens, qui y avaient cours alors, et des derniers desquels Ptolémée lui-même avait fait frapper une partie, soit en 317—316, soit en 312—311, témoin la pièce de ma collection au nom d'Alexandre (fils de Roxane), n. 947 du catalogue Huber, avec le nom de Gaza en monogramme A .

Cependant je conviens que M. Stark peut s'être trompé; mais alors, je désirerais avoir les preuves, non seulement qu'il y a des monnaies frappées en Phénicie, qui ne peuvent être que du premier Ptolémée, mais encore qu'il n'y en *pas* de Séleucus ou d'Antiochus I.—et c'est ce que le riche Médailleur du Musée Britannique vous permettra mieux qu'à moi, monsieur, de vérifier. Pourtant je retrouve sur un tétradrachme de Séleucus I., au type du Jupiter *Nicéphore*, les monogrammes ΔI et A , bien connus dans la numismatique des rois d'Égypte; sur un triobole du même roi $\text{A}^{\text{M}}_{\text{AP}}$, et sur un tétradrachme d'Antiochus I., au type de l'Apollon assis, les monogrammes d'Aradus et de Dora, A A .

Puis nous connaissons, par l'ouvrage de M. Müller, la série de tétradrachmes aux types d'Alexandre le Grand, frappés en Phénicie. Or est-il vraisemblable qu'on ait émis simultanément à Sidon de 295 à 293, et en 291, des tétradrachmes d'Alexandre aux dates M, AM, MB et M Δ , et des didrachmes de Soter aux dates Δ , ΔA , ΔB et $\Delta\Delta$?

Et surtout, qu'à *Acé*, on ait mis en cours en 300, 295, et 289 des tétradrachmes avec les dates $\text{II III} \text{H}$, H H , et III III H H , et le nom d'Acé en Phénicien, et en même temps des didrachmes de Ptolémée avec les dates K , Δ , et ΔC , et le nouveau nom Grec Ptolemais M ? Et c'est justement cette série d'Acé continuée jusqu'en 289, qui me semble prouver que si Soter a été le premier à émettre en Phénicie les didrachmes au type de l'aigle, qui y restèrent le type constant dans la suite, ce ne fut que dans les quatre dernières années de son règne, et qu'en tout cas la série datée ne peut lui être attribuée.

De plus, outre la monnaie d'or d'Arsinoé Philadelphie, à la date ϵ (6) et les initiales de Sidon, que vous avez fait graver Pl. ii. n. 7 (groupe, auquel j'ajoute l'an 2, LB II, Mion. Suppl., t. ix. p. 9, n. 49, Eckhel Numi Veteres Anecdoti, p. 290) et qui correspond à la même date sur le didrachme n. 6 de votre Pl. ii., il y a d'autres statères d'Arsinoé à dates élevées, $\text{K}\Gamma$ M M , an 23 de Stratonos Pyrgos, Mion., t. vi. n. 120; $\Delta\Delta$ M massue

Θ, an 34 de Tyr, catalogue Huber, n. 994, et catalogue de la vente à Londres du 2 Juin, 1863, n. 37; ΛϞ ΣΙ ΔΙ, an 37 de Sidon, Mionnet, t. vi. n. 122; et ΔΗ ΣΙ Ϟ, an 38 de Sidon, Musée Royal à la Haye (sans compter celles de Chypre, ΛΑ ΠΑ, Schleddehaus dans Grote Münzstudien, t. ii., p. 861, et ΛΑΓ ΠΑ, Mion., vi. n. 199, etc.). Ces pièces correspondent aux dates ΔΔ à Tyr; ΛϞ ΣΙ ΔΙ, Schleddehaus, II. p. 901, n. 49, Catalogue Huber, n. 967; et ΔΗ Ϟ ΣΙ ΔΙ, Mion., Suppl. IX. n. 7. Mais Arsinoé ayant épousé Philadelphie en 277, et étant morte en 249 environ, suivant M. Lepsius (U. e. Ergebn. d. Aegypt. Denkm. f. d. K. d. Ptolemäer Geschichte, p. 49), les chiffres 33, 37, et 38 ne peuvent indiquer que des années du règne de Ptolémée II., à compter depuis 285, c'est à dire 253, 249, et 248 av. J. C., ou bien se rapporter à une ère commençant par exemple en 295, l'an de la conquête de Chypre par Soter, ce qui me paraît moins probable. Ce sont surtout ces statères d'Arsinoé qui m'ont engagé à classer à Ptolémée II les didrachmes datés, depuis ΚϞ de Sidon (Rev. Numism., 1854, p. 178, n. 4), ΚΘ de Tyr (Rev. Numism., 1854, Pl. ix., n. 4), et ΚΘ de Gaza (Rev. Numism., 1854, p. 164), jusqu'à 39 de Joppe et Gaza Ϟ ΛΘ, von Prokesch Osten, Inedita

Wien, 1859, p. 33. Car je n'osais pas considérer Κ à Tyr (Schleddehaus d. Grote, Münzst., t. ii. p. 902, n. 52), et à Sidon (Rev. Numism., 1854, p. 178, n. 2) et les monogr. ϟ et Κ, que je connaissais par des pièces de ma collection comme exprimant des dates, avant de connaître la série entière, que vous venez de publier. Le monogr. Ε, que vous expliquez ΚΛ, ne signifierait-il pas plutôt ΚϞ, et qu'est-ce que Κ à Tyr (Rev. Numism., 1853, Pl. xix., n. 4)? Est-ce ΚΗ?

Puis le didrachme en argent d'Arsinoé (Catalogue Huber, Planche n. 995) me paraît être favorable à mon opinion, puisque l'aigle est tout à fait identique de pose et de style à l'aigle sur la pièce au monogr. ϟ de ma collection. C'est la même pose droite et élancée, grosse tête, queue en éventail, les pattes dégarnies de plumes à toute la partie inférieure. Il faudrait alors expliquer les dates basses (par exemple Γ et Ϟ, n. 5 et 6 de votre Planche ii.) comme l'a fait M. Pinder (Beiträge z. a. Münzkunde, i. p. 218) en admettant qu'Euergète ait continué pendant quelques années le monnayage de ses parents tout en datant depuis son avènement, et qu'ainsi le statère d'Arsinoé de l'an 6 (Ϟ) ait été émis sous Ptolémée III. Car la tête d'Arsinoé n'a pu être placée sur les monnaies avant qu'elle eut reçu les honneurs divins, mais après sa mort on pouvait bien continuer de la représenter comme toute autre divinité. Ce qui est certain, en tout cas, c'est que les didrachmes de ma collection avec ΣΙ ΛΒ; Ϟ ΛΕ,

Ϟ ΛϞ, ΣΙ Γ et ΣΙ Ϟ sont tellement identiques de style et de

fabrique, qu'ils doivent avoir été frappés à très peu d'années de distance, et ne peuvent différer de 30 ans.

J'ai encore mis en compte les monnaies d'or. Les tétrabolos Attiques qui ont la tête diadémée, et au revers la Victoire, les dates Γ et Δ, 6 et 7 et la crabe, symbole de Sozusa (Apollonia) en Cyrénaïque (Müller, Numism. de l'Afrique, i. p. 137—139), ne peuvent avoir été frappées qu'en 300 et 299 av. J. C. Voilà encore un fait qui me semble mettre hors de doute que Ptolémée I. datait depuis 305, et que les didrachmes au type de l'aigle et aux dates Κ et Ε, que vous placez dans ces années, appartiennent à son successeur. Les autres monnaies d'or, qui présentent la tête de Soter et l'aigle sur le foudre, sont entièrement différentes par les poids des statères d'Arsinoé, des Euergetes, des Philopators, et d'Epiphane. Elles se rattachent par l'absence de dates et du titre *Soter* aux didrachmes non datés à légende ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, et me paraissent précéder les statères d'Arsinoé Philadelpho, qui, par leurs dates, appartiennent à la série datée. Si donc Ptolémée I. a réellement frappé monnaie en Phénicie depuis 302, je lui donnerais de préférence ces pièces (de bon style s'entend), et en cas contraire je les classerais au dix-neuf premières années de Philadelpho, à qui je laisserais en tout cas la série avec les dates jusqu'à 39.

Vient la série si intéressante, à dates élevées, que vous avez réunie sur vos Planches iii. et iv., et qui, à l'exception de la pièce frappée à Ptolémaïs l'an ΞΕ (que j'ai citée d'après M. Lenormant), ne porte pas d'indication du lieu où elle a été émise. Sur un didrachme sans date, et avec ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, *du même style*, de ma collection, on voit les deux astres qu'on rencontre plus d'une fois sur les monnaies d'Epiphane. Vous comparez cette série au didrachme de Philopator, et à un autre aux types de Soter, tous deux frappés à Tyr. Mais ces monnaies bien connues (Mionnet, S. ix. Pl. iv. 1; Trésor de Glypt. Rois Grecs, Pl. lxxxv. n. 16—mon. ✕; Rev. Num. 1853, Pl. xx. n. 78), quoique de meilleure fabrique que la série datée, peuvent tout aussi bien lui être contemporaines ou antérieures que postérieures; et sur le didrachme que j'ai devant moi, de l'an ΠΔ (et ΠΗ—q, à ce qu'il paraît), l'aigle ressemble plus à celui des monnaies d'Epiphane qu'à celui qu'on gravait du temps de Philopator. Il est plus penché en avant, moins élancé, plus gros et ramassé, et a les pattes plus éloignées l'une de l'autre. Je ne crois donc pas avoir eu tort en plaçant l'an ΞΕ en 221 au commencement du règne de Philopator. L'an q tombe alors en 196, ce qui s'accorde parfaitement avec les monnaies d'Epiphane datées Α ΝΙ, Δ ΝΙ, © ΝΙ, dont la dernière année, © (Rois Grecs, Pl. lxxxvi. n. 3), tombe, en comptant depuis 204, dans la même année 196. En outre, Monsieur, j'appelle votre attention sur le didrachme d'Epiphane frappé à Berytus Β (gravé Rois Grecs, Pl. lxxxvi. n. 4).

L'aigle ne diffère de celui de la série datée Λ — $\Lambda\Theta$ — Σ que par la queue, qui est un peu moins étalée. Puis-je, je vous le demande, séparer cette monnaie de la série, que vous attribuez à Soter, par un intervalle de 75 ans? Selon ma manière de voir, 37 ans me paraissent bien assez. Et puis-je placer cette même monnaie plus tard que l'hémidrachme à la date PE, le seul, avec une drachme sans date de même fabrique, que je puisse consulter, car votre Planche iv. n'accompagnait pas le dernier numéro du Numismatic Chronicle. J'en doute fort. Veuillez au contraire, Monsieur, comparer cette pièce (PE) aux bronzes frappés en Egypte par Antiochus IV (170, 166—164 av. J. C.); aux didrachmes Phéniciens d'Alexandre I (Balas) depuis 150; à celui de Philométor (Roi de Syrie en 147, 146) de Ptolémaïs (Rois Grecs, Pl. lxxxvi. 6; et Musée Royal à la Haye du Cabinet d'Ennery); à celui de Tryphon, également de Ptolémaïs (Mus. de la Haye du Cabinet d'Ennery), etc. J'y vois non seulement tout-à-fait le même aigle, et qui ne ressemble plus à celui des rois précédents; mais encore la tête paraît être celle de Philométor, tout en gardant encore, surtout dans l'arrangement des cheveux, beaucoup d'analogie avec celle de Soter.

Une grave objection reste toujours à résoudre. Non pas celle qu'on se soit servi tantôt du nom de Soter, tantôt du titre de roi, d'autres fois des épithètes de Philopator ou d'Epiphane; car on a pu continuer dans quelques villes de frapper des monnaies une fois acceptées par le commerce, sans y faire de changements, tandis que, dans des ateliers peut-être voisins, on variait la tête ou la légende à chaque nouveau règne. Que de monnaies de Philippe, d'Alexandre, et de Lysimaque ont été mises en circulation par des villes longtemps après la mort de ces rois!

Mais peut-on admettre qu'après qu'Antiochus III se fut emparé de la Phénicie, les ateliers de cette contrée continuèrent à battre monnaie aux types et à la légende des rois d'Egypte? Je pourrais observer que les graveurs et les monnayeurs peuvent s'être retirés en Egypte, et avoir établi leur atelier sur la frontière à Pélusium ou à Rhinocorura; et qu'entre l'an 196 (© NI d'Epiphane) et les didrachmes à l'aigle d'Alexandre Balas il y a une lacune de près de 50 ans, que la série datée PB—PIZ pourrait combler en partie. Mais il est surtout remarquable que Cléopâtre, fille d'Antiochus III, qui fut mariée à Epiphane, reçut en dôt la Céléstyrie, la Samarie, la Judée, et la Phénicie; et quand même on ne dussent entendre par là que les revenus de ces provinces (selon Stark, Gaza, pp. 426—430), est-il impossible d'admettre que Cléopâtre ait eu le droit d'y battre monnaie, et qu'après sa mort en 172-171 son fils Philométor, qui prétendait être héritier de ces provinces par sa mère (Stark, Gaza, p. 431), ait usé du même droit?

En somme, il me paraît qu'avant de pouvoir établir une classification définitive, il y a encore mainte difficulté à résoudre, mais qu'avant tout il nous manque un catalogue aussi complet que possible de toutes les monnaies des Ptolémées, et de toutes celles des rois de Syrie, jusqu'à Antiochus IV, dont les monogrammes doivent être rapportés à des villes de la Phénicie, de la Samarie, et de la Judée; car il suffit souvent d'une date nouvelle pour renverser tout un système.

J'espère, Monsieur, qu'en faveur du sujet, qui nous intéresse tous deux si vivement, vous voudrez excuser les nombreuses objections que je viens de faire, et la longueur de ma lettre.

Agréez, Monsieur, etc.

Amsterdam, 27 Décembre, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am very much obliged by your interesting letter of the 27th of December, which has opened to me new lines of inquiry. I will examine your objections in detail, in the hope that we shall end in agreement.

1. The opinion of M. Stark upon the difficult period of the history of Phœnicia, during which I suppose Ptolemy I. to have struck dated coins there, though worthy of great respect, must give way to that founded on the evidence of the coins, if the latter evidence be positive. On this point I must refer you to my fuller statement of the evidence for the attribution to Ptolemy I. of these coins, and especially to the proof from the coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes with double date that the alliance concluded in the year B.C. 299 was an important treaty. I must also remark that I do not suppose Ptolemy I. to have struck coins at any Phœnician or Palestinian city except Tyre before his 24th year, B.C. 301-300, nor at any such city uninterruptedly after that year.

2. I have been unable to discover any coin of the early Seleucidæ, or of Antigonus and Demetrius Poliorcetes,

struck in any one of the coast-towns of Phœnicia or Palestine. The mint-monograms are, however, very difficult. For instance, what could be more probable than that the monogram IOII, as in Plate I. No. 12, was of Joppa and no other town? Yet we know that in a form differing only in the direction of the II, it indicates a mint of the Cyrenaïca (Müller, *Ancienne Afrique*, tom. i., p. 138, no. and fig. 363). A virtually-identical monogram may, therefore, not indicate the same mint.

3. I am not convinced that the letters you cite from coins of Alexander of Sidon are dates. These letters with the letters of the town are thus given by Müller:—

M ΣI, A M ΣI, M B ΣI, M Δ ΣI.—(Num. d'Alex. pl. xix. 1401—4).

I must first observe that the supposed tens and units are not written, as in the case of undoubted date-numerals, close together. The doubt is increased by the occurrence on another tetradrachm so-called of Sidon of the letters and monograms ΣI AA Δ and A in II (No. 1419). I also find in the British Museum collection a didrachm of Ptolemy I. *Rev.*, ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑ ϚΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In field, left, ^MΣI; this can scarcely be a date.

4. The dates on coins of Ace with types of Alexander may be reckoned from three epochs, that of the accession of Alexander, that of the battle of the Granicus, and that of the battle of Issus, the second and third of which are suggested by M. Müller (Num. d'Alex. p. 81). In the following table I have given the dates occurring upon the coins, distinguishing those taken from staters by Roman numerals, and have added the Syro-Macedonian years B.C. corresponding on the three hypotheses, supposing that the first year in each case was that within which the event

fell, therefore B.C. 337, 335, and 333. I have also given the years of Ptolemy I. corresponding to the Syro-Macedonian years of the supposed reckonings. The dates are those of the commencements of the Syro-Macedonian years :—

Dates on Coins of Acc. ¹	Era of Alex.	Years of Ptol. I.	Era from Granicus or Issus.	Years of Ptol. I.
6	332		330 328	
9	329		327 325	
11	327		325 323	2
14	324	1	322 320	3 5
20	318	7	316 314	9 11
21	317	8	315 313	10 12
22	316	9	314 312	11 13
XXIII.	315	10	313 311	12 14
24	314	11	312 310	13 15
25 } XXV. }	313	12	311 309	14 16
26 } XXVI. }	312	13	310 308	15 17
27	311	14	309 307	16 18
28	310	15	308 306	17 19
29	309	16	307 305	18 20
30 } XXX. }	308	17	306 304	19 21
31	307	18	305 303	20 22
32	306	19	304 302	21 23
33 } XXXIII. }	305	20	303 301	22 24
34 } XXXIV. }	304	21	302 300	23 25
35	303	22	301 299	24 26
36 } XXXVI. }	302	23	300 298	25 27
37	301	24	299 297	26 28
40 ? } XL. }	298	27	296 294	29 31
46 } XLVI. }	292	33	290 288	35 37

These results may be compared with the dates on coins of Ptolemy I., inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, certainly or possibly struck for Ptolemaïs of Phœnicia.

¹ All these dates, excepting 40 ? are from Müller, Num. d'Alex., p. 304, pl. xix. nos. 1430—1451; xx. 1452—1463; xxix. no. 1451a. Is the date 5 an error ? (no. 1429)—cf. p. 304.

B.C.	Year of Ptol. I.	Ptolema's. Mon. ΠΤ.	Ptolema's. Mon. ΠΤ in O. ²
300-299	25		Κ
299-298	26		
298-297	27		
297-296	28		
296-295	29		
295-294	30	Λ	
294-293	31	ΛΛ	
293-292	32	ΛΒ	
292-291	33	ΛΓ	
291-290	34	ΛΔ	
290-289	35	ΛΕ	
289-288	36	ΛΕ	
288-287	37	ΛϚ	
287-286	38		
286-285	39		

If we adopt Müller's hypothesis it is quite possible that the coins with dates of Ptolemy I. were struck during the gap after year 40, only once interrupted at year 46 in the examples known to me. In this case the era would probably be from the battle of the Granicus. Surely it is somewhat in favour of my conjecture that there is no gap in the series of Ace which would admit of the issue of Ptolemy's coins except this, for the single coincidence of dates is not enough to overthrow the evidence of a gap at the end of eighteen consecutive dates.

5. I now come to the difficult series with the inscription ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ, to which I did not pay the attention it deserves.

First, I will state the main facts known of the two Arsinoës, wives of Philadelphus.

Arsinoë I., daughter of Lysimachus and Nicæa (?), married to Philadelphus, according to the general opinion, soon after his accession; banished about B.C. 279, his

² There is a coin dated 24, with the second monogram ΠΤ in O, of which more hereafter.

6-7 year; mother of Ptolemy III. Euergetes, Lysimachus, and Berenice, wife of Antiochus II. She is supposed by Niebuhr to be the same as the Arsinoë, wife of Magas, King of Cyrene, who was mother of Berenice II., wife of Euergetes. Arsinoë, wife of Magas, outlived him; his death took place B.C. 258 (Ptol. II., year 27-28).

Arsinoë II., daughter of Ptolemy I. and Berenice, married Lysimachus B.C. *cir.* 300; after his death, which took place B.C. 281, came to Egypt and married her brother, Ptolemy II., B.C. *cir.* 279 (Ptolemy II., 6-7 year). Her husband outlived her.

Some of these matters are well ascertained; others are very uncertain. In the case of Arsinoë I., I can find no proof of her having been a daughter of Nicæa, nor can I determine the date of her marriage; that of her separation or divorce cannot well be placed later than B.C. *cir.* 279, and as she had at least three children by this marriage, there is a strong wish to place the latter event at the very beginning of Ptolemy II.'s reign.

I will now describe the portraits on coins that have been or may be assigned to the two Arsinoës, beginning with those of which the attribution is certain or probable, and then noticing the doubtful.

I. ARSINOË II.

a. Coins of Ephesus, with the name Arsinoë.

Veiled head to the right, hair broad, in horizontal bands, eye deep sunk, nose projecting, veil falling and bound across the throat. (Pl. V., Nos. 1, 2.)

b. Coin of Chalcis in Eubœa.

Veiled bust to the right, wearing tiara; hair broad, below tiara, in horizontal bands, eye deep sunk, nose bridged,

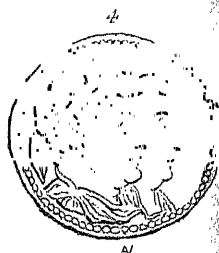
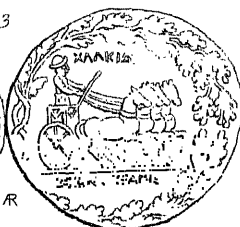
veil falling and drawn round the throat, throat thick, wearing ear-ring.

Rev.—Female (?) figure in quadriga, holding sceptre in right hand; above, ΧΑΑΚΙΑ . . . ; in *exergue*, ΞΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, all in oak-wreath. (Pl. V., No. 3.)

This coin evidently bears the portrait of a queen, and the reverse seems to represent a monumental chariot, like that placed on the summit of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. I conjecturally explain it by the following passage in Diogenes Laertius, at the close of the account of the celebrated Xenocrates:—

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ξενοκράτει ἐκ' ὃ τε τακτικὸς ἀρχαῖος σφόδρα * * καὶ ὁ συγγενὴς ἄμα καὶ πολίτης τῷ προειρημένῳ φιλοσόφῳ, φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ λόγος Ἀρσινοητικός, γεγραμμένος περὶ Ἀρσινόης ὑποθανούσης.—iv. 2, § 13.

The celebrated Xenocrates was a native of Chalcedon (Χαλκηδόνιος, iv. 2, § 1), and this less known one was, therefore, according to Diogenes, of the same town, and related to him, which latter circumstance might, perhaps, be conjectured of a fellow-townsmen. The Arsinoë in question is probably Arsinoë II., wife of Philadelphus, for the following reasons:—(1) Philadelphus paid great honour to the memory of this Arsinoë, which we do not know to have been done in the case of any other of the few royal personages bearing this name who are spoken of in history. (2.) The commemoration by a philosopher of Chalcedon, or possibly Chalcis, points either to the time when the Ptolemies ruled or influenced Asia Minor and the islands of the Ægean Sea, or to that when the court of Alexandria was the great resort of Greek philosophers; in either case to the period from the accession of Ptolemy I. as governor, to about the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes.



That the coin under consideration was struck by the influence of Xenocrates, who wrote the elegy on Arsinoë, may be inferred for several reasons. The combination of the name Xenocrates, with a bust of a queen resembling Arsinoë II. (cf. I. *a*, sup. *c*, inf.) upon a coin of Chalcis, (which, from its reverse, would appear to be commemorative), the date of the coin being about B.C. 250, certainly not much earlier nor much later, is too like the commemoration of an Arsinoë, probably Arsinoë II., who died about the time just mentioned, by a Xenocrates of Chalcedon, not to be probably another form of the same act of regard.

- c. Gold staters of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, and Arsinoë II., with Ptolemy I. Soter, and Berenice I.

These coins are of two classes :

- (1.) Struck during the reign of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus.

Obv.—ΘΕΩΝ. Busts, jugate, of Ptolemy I. and Berenice I., to right, diademed.

Rev.—ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ. Busts, jugate, of Ptolemy II. and Arsinoë II., to right, diademed. (Pl. V., No. 4.)

- (2.) Struck after the reign of Ptolemy II.

Obv.— Busts of Ptolemy I. and Berenice I., as before.

Rev.—ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ. Busts of Ptolemy II. and Arsinoë II., as before. (French collection.)

Upon the first class of these coins the title ΘΕΩΝ evidently distinguishes the dead sovereigns from those living. Upon the second it is given to the latter, in addition to their distinctive title ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ. In the latter case it is not certain that the obverse of the only specimen known to me ever had an inscription; and it might be supposed that the inscriptions of both sides were

united on the reverse; but such a case is without example, and it is very probable that Ptolemy Euergetes would have imitated his father, by giving him and his queen this title of deification. I am aware that all the Ptolemies in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and as far as is known in the Greek, take this title; but upon the coins of the earlier ones it is reasonable to suppose a special use, particularly as the profanity is not known to have been usual on coins of reigning kings until a later time.

That Arsinoë II. is represented on both classes may, I think, be thus proved. The title ἀδελφὴ was common to the queens of Egypt, from Berenice I., whether sisters of the kings or not, as Letronne has proved (*Recueil*, pp. 3, 9). We could not, therefore, argue from its occurrence whether Arsinoë I. or Arsinoë II. were intended; but the use of the term ἀδελφοί is different, and implies positive relationship. In this case there can thus be no doubt that the second Arsinoë is represented on these coins. If we add the coin ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ, as almost certainly struck by Ptolemy III., who recognized the second Arsinoë as his mother, and bear in mind that the children of Ptolemy and Berenice would naturally combine their own portraits with those of their parents, the evidence seems irresistible.

The portrait of Arsinoë II. upon the reverses of these coins is extremely like that of her mother, Berenice, upon the obverses. No doubt allowance must be made for the kings' heads having been the chief objects of the care of the engraver; the queens' heads being in a subordinate position, and partly hidden, are less carefully engraved. It is also difficult to compare these half-faces with the complete ones of other coins. To this must be added the poverty of the work, which in these coins is singularly

coarse and unskilful. It is, however, possible to detect the main characteristics of the face. The hair is braided in bands, the eyes full, the nose pointed, the mouth drawn in, and the chin double. It is the face of a woman past middle age. It resembles the head on the coins of Ephesus, with those exceptions that the lapse of years would explain; the eye is more deeply sunk, the mouth has fallen in, and the form of the chin is more defined.

II. ARSINOË I. and II.

Gold staters and silver pentadrachms inscribed ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ
ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ.

Before examining the portrait or portraits of this class, it will be well to ascertain the meaning of the term *φιλάδελφος*, as here used, and its history as applied to Ptolemy II.

The distinctive surnames of the Ptolemies were common to both king and queen, the queen taking her title from the king, or the lesser from the greater sovereign. For instance, in the inscription—

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ
ΘΕΟΙ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΟΙ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΕΣ [ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡ]ΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ
ΤΕΚΝΑ κ. τ. λ.—(Boeckh, C. I. iii., p. 362, No. 4716 e.)—

Ptolemy Soter II. takes the title Philometor from his mother and co-regent, Cleopatra, who originally took it from Ptolemy IX. Euergetes II., or Ptolemy VII. Philometor. Arsinoë was therefore called Philadelphos, from her husband.

In the Greek inscription of the Rosetta Stone we find three queens thus qualified by their husbands' surnames.

ΑΘΛΟΦΟΡΟΥ ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΙΔΟΣ ΠΥΡΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ
ΦΙΛΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΑΡΕΙΑΣ
ΤΗΣ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΕΙΑΣ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ.—ll. 5, 6.

"Pyrrha, daughter of Philinus, being athlophoros of Berenice Euergetis; Areia, daughter of Diogenes, Canephoros of Arsinoë Philadelphos; Irene, daughter of Ptolemy, priestess of Arsinoë Philopator."

The inscription ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ is therefore to be read like ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ [representation or coin] of Arsinoë Philadelphos. An example of the occurrence of this title in literature, occurs in the epigram by Posidippus, given by Athenæus—

Τοῦτο, καὶ ἐν ποταμῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονί, τῆς Φιλαδέλφου
Κύπριδος ἰλάσκεσθαι ἱερὸν Ἀρσινόης
Ἦν ἀνακουρανέουσιν ἐπὶ Ζεφυρηΐδος ἀκτῆς
Πρῶτος ὁ ναύαρχος θήκατο Καλλικράτης
Ἥ δὲ καὶ εὐπλοίην δώσει, καὶ χεῖματι μέσσω
Τὸ πλατὺ λισσομένοις ἐκλιπανεῖ πέλαγος.

(Athen. vii. c. 19, p. 318.)

Respecting the time at which Ptolemy II. received the epithet Philadelphus, I find two hypotheses to be current, both unsupported by citations of ancient authors. The general opinion is that he took this surname, or received it from his flatterers, on account of his marriage with Arsinoë II., his sister, or after that event. It has been also suggested, but with hesitation and ambiguity, that Philadelphus, instead of being a surname, was a nickname, like Kakergetes, Physcon, Auletes, &c., given to Ptolemy II. on account of his cruelty and hostility to his brothers. This idea may be dismissed at once, as the occurrence of the surname in the hieroglyphic inscriptions shows that it was used officially, unlike the popular nicknames of later Ptolemies. The first hypothesis remains. To judge of its probability, I must first examine the evidence as to when such surnames were given, and then see to what conclusion the history of Ptolemy II. would lead.

It is first to be observed that after Ptolemy I. no

sovereign of his family appears on the throne without a surname. The cases of Ptolemy VI. Eupator, son of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, and Ptolemy VIII. Philopator II., son of Ptolemy VII. Philometor, neither of whom reigned a year, are very much to the point. The surnames may be divided into two classes: such as could scarcely have been taken before accession, because they imply regal dignity, as Epiphanes, Soter; and those which could have been so taken, as merely indicating family affection or the like, as Philadelphus, Philopator, Eupator, &c. The balance of evidence would seem to be in favour of these surnames having also been taken on accession. The case of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, as the first, might possibly be an exception to the general later usage.

Ptolemy I. gave two sons his own name, his eldest son, afterwards called Ptolemy Ceraunus, and his third, afterwards called Ptolemy Philadelphus. He seems to have originally designed Ceraunus for his heir, but to have set him aside for Philadelphus, and to have marked the latter as his successor by his name.³ There were thus in the same family a king and two sons bearing the same name. Is it likely that they would have continued to do so without any distinction? Though we see no difficulty in the king and one son's having the same name, this cannot be said of the brothers. These, however, might have been

³ Ptolemy II. Philadelphus gave the name Ptolemy only to his elder son and successor, Euergetes, and a natural son, calling his second legitimate son Lysimachus, after his maternal grandfather. Ptolemy III. Euergetes called his elder son and successor Ptolemy (Philopator), naming his second Magas, probably after his maternal grandfather, Magas, king of Cyrene. Ptolemy IV. Philopator left but one son, Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, who, for the first time after the reign of Ptolemy I., gave the name Ptolemy to all his three sons, distinguished as Eupator, Philometor, and Euergetes II.

distinguished as "the elder" and "younger." So far the balance of probability favours the supposition that the distinctive surnames by which they are known were given to these Ptolemies in the reign of their father. But at what time of life is it likely these surnames were given? *Κεραυνος*, the Thunderbolt, might have been given to the elder son at any time. His impetuous disposition must have been apparent in childhood, and certainly never left him. *Φιλάделφος* was more applicable to the younger son in his sickly childhood than in later years, when his *φιλαδελφία* was limited to a political marriage to Arsinoë II., and an affection to Philotera, which probably was only designed to keep her in the kingdom, lest she should contract an alliance that might prove dangerous. With the other children of Ptolemy I. his relations were generally hostile, sometimes indifferent. If he were, as I believe, safe of the succession from his childhood, he could have had no reason to disguise his liking or disliking, and it may be fairly supposed that his true character would have appeared before he attained manhood. If the surnames were given in childhood, then the impetuous Ceraunus would have been well contrasted with the sickly, and seemingly-amiable, Philadelphus.

The surname Philadelphus must have been given not later than the accession of the king, to avoid a confusion between him and the old king; and it may be observed that this state of things would be the same as the difficulty occasioned by two princes having the same name, with the important exception that it might be officially embarrassing. It is therefore possible that the second Ptolemy bore this surname from an early age, but perhaps, on the whole, probability is in favour of his not having received it before his accession.

From this inquiry it follows that both Arsinoës might have been called Philadelphos; therefore there is nothing in the use of the surname to determine who, if but one queen, is represented on the coins under examination.

These coins present three varieties in the portrait, which may possibly be of two persons. The varieties may be described as follows, and the dated specimens indicated. Unfortunately I have not seen examples or casts of coins bearing all known dates, and therefore I cannot speak with certainty as to the relation of the varieties of the portrait to the different dates. The relation of these varieties to the mints seems more certain, as generally more than one example or cast of a coin of each important mint has been examined by me.

(1.) Gold staters and (all) silver pentadrachms.

Obv.—Veiled head, to the right, wearing tiara; hair broad, below tiara in bands rising towards the back of head, and loose; under ear is seen end of ram's horn; above head, point of sceptre. Portrait youthful; work fine; dates, 34, 37, 38, 1, 3, 4; towns, Tyre, Sidon, Joppa. (Pl. V., Nos. 5, 6.)

(2.) Gold staters.

Hair narrow, below tiara tightly bound, eye sunken, nose thin and with bridge, mouth drawn in, chin double and pointed, throat thin. Portrait middle-aged; work good; date, 16; town, Citium. (Pl. V., No. 7.)

There are points of similarity to this in the stater of year 33, Paphos, in the *Pl. V., No. 8*. Its portrait resembles No. 3. The stater of year 23, Joppa, is also peculiar.

(3.) Gold staters and didrachm.

Hair narrow, below tiara tightly bound, nose thin and straight, or slightly *retroussé*, eye large, eyebrow raised (semicircular), mouth drawn in, chin double and pointed, throat thin. Portrait middle-aged; work bad, and probably a hundred years later

than the reign of Ptolemy II. (Pl. V. Nos. 8): it resembles that of the unique silver tetradrachm of Cleopatra, Queen of Syria, B.C. 138-7, although it seems in most examples better.

The first class bears the portrait of a young and beautiful woman, not unlike the portrait of Arsinoë II. on the coins of Ephesus with the name Arsinoë, and the supposed portrait on the coin of Chalcis in Eubœa, but more of the correct classical type. The second class bears what may be a later portrait of the same woman, but one characterized not merely by the indications of middle age, but by a nearer approach than the former to the portraits on coins of Ephesus-Arsinoë, and Chalcis. The third class bears a clearly-posthumous and very conventional portrait, influenced by the base ideal of the period, yet so marked as to indicate that it represented a very characteristic original; it rather resembles the second than the first portrait and this is the more characteristic of the two.

It may be useful to compare these portraits with those of Berenice I., sister and wife of Ptolemy I., and Berenice II., cousin or sister of Ptolemy III. It must be remembered that Berenice I. was the mother of Arsinoë II., and that Berenice II. was grand-daughter of Berenice I., her father, Magas, having been step-son of Ptolemy I. It is also thought by some that Arsinoë I. was mother of Berenice II. The portrait of Berenice I., not unmarked by a likeness to that of Ptolemy I., is strikingly like that of her grand-daughter (Pl. V., No. 10), and both are more like that of the second class, and the portraits of Ephesus-Arsinoë, and Chalcis, than that of the first class. The finest gold tetradrachms of Berenice II., deviating from her usual portrait, have an ideal aspect that recalls the first class (Pl. V., No. 9). Thus the more marked portrait of the gold staters seems undoubtedly to be that

of a princess of the Ptolemaic family, a daughter of the first Berenice, and an aunt of the second. The more ideal portrait, though it has a certain resemblance to one of Berenice II., of similar style, which would be noteworthy were they certainly of mother and daughter, is unmarked by these traits. It may indeed be said that as the coins of Berenice II. present both an idealized and a realistic portrait, so may the coins of Arsinoë II. The reply is that the idealized portrait of Berenice II. is an exception perhaps restricted to a single die; but that the idealized portrait of an Arsinoë Philadelphos is one of two contemporary portraits upon a large series of gold money. It may therefore be safely asserted, on the evidence of this comparison, that the second class of gold staters bears the portrait of Arsinoë II., whereas this is not certain of the first class. I have still to discuss the order of the issue of these coins, the gold currency and silver pentadrachms having the name Arsinoë Philadelphos.

The key to the classification is of course to be found in the two groups of dated gold staters, those of the Phœnician cities and those of the cities of Cyprus. These groups may best be first examined separately in order to discover the sequence of the dates, and then compared.

The coins of the Phœnician cities evidently belong to the latest part of one reign and the earliest part of another. This is clear from a comparison of them with coins of the same cities attributed by me to Ptolemy I. and II., by you to Ptolemy II. and III., as may be seen by the following list :—

GOLD STATERS OF ARSINOË.		SILVER DIDRACHMS OF PTOLEMY.	
		I. AND II. ?	
Date.	Town.	Date.	Town.
34	Tyre	34	Tyre
37	Sidon	37	Sidon
38	Sidon		
1	Tyre		
3	IOI'		
4	Tyre		
		5	Tyre
6	Sidon	6	Sidon
23	IOII	23	Ptolemaïs

There can be no question that the lower dates, except 23 of Arsinoë, form the continuation of the higher dates preceding them in the list. In the case of the staters of Arsinoë, the connection is shown by the occurrence of the same monogram HA on those dated 38 and 6. The whole monogram does not occur upon the second, only H being on the field; but a comparison with the corresponding coin of Ptolemy II. or III., leaves no doubt as to the identity of monograms upon these two staters. In the case of the didrachms of the Ptolemies, the connection has been already proved; and it has been shown that the date 23 of Ptolemaïs is of the second reign; the date 23 of IOII of Arsinoë is, therefore, probably of the same reign.

The second group, if arranged in the order of dates, presents the following series :—

STATERS OF ARSINOË.	
* Date.	Town.
2	Paphos.
6	Salamis ?
13	Salamis.
16	Citium.
30	Paphos.
33	Paphos.

It is remarkable that all these coins except the first

seem to be struck at intervals of $3\frac{1}{3}$ years, dividing decennial periods counted from the first year of the king, thus—

3 6 10 13 16 20 23 ? 26 30 33.

The date 23 is conjecturally inserted from the previous series.

The ancient Egyptians seem to have similarly divided the thirty-year periods which were connected with the reigns of their sovereigns. Thus, Rameses II. is recorded in tablets at Silsilis, in Upper Egypt, to have celebrated festivals in the following years: 30, 34, 37, 40, [44], 47. (Champollion, "Monuments," tom. ii., pl. cxv., cxvi., cxviii., cxix., in the last of which plates 45 is a mistake for 47.)

Did the same custom prevail under the Ptolemies? Epiphanes is certainly styled in the Rosetta Stone $\text{ΚΥΠΙΟΥ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑΕΤΗΡΙΑΩΝ}$ (l. 2).

It is most reasonable to suppose that the two series are for the greater part of each two portions of a whole, the first beginning late in the reign of one king, and being discontinued early in that of his successor; the second beginning early in the second reign. In this arrangement the only exceptional case is that of IOII dated in the 23rd year. The order would then be as follows:—

GOLD STATERS OF ARSINOË.

Date.	Town.	Date.	Town.	Date.	Town.
34	Tyre				
37	Sidon				
38	Sidon				
1	Tyre				
				2	Paphos
3	IOI				
4	Tyre				

Date.	Town.	Date.	Town.	Date.	Town.
6	Sidon			6	Salamis?
				13	Salamis
				16	Oitium
		23	ΙΟΠ	30	Paphos
				33	Paphos

If this arrangement be correct, the two reigns can only be those of Ptolemy I. and Ptolemy II., the third Ptolemy not having reigned 30 years. But the dates themselves afford evidence that is independent of my arrangement. The abandonment of the coinage of Tyre and Sidon appear to have taken place in or after the sixth year, and the regular coinage of the towns of Cyprus to have begun either in the same year or in the thirteenth. This change is apparently marked by a change of portrait, at least it is certain that two varieties of portrait are found in the two classes respectively. It was about this time, in the reign of Ptolemy II., that he married Arsinoë II., and the earlier reign in the arrangement would accordingly be that of Ptolemy I., and the later that of Ptolemy II.

You have rightly laid great stress upon the correspondence of the dates on didrachms inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, with those on staters of Arsinoë of the first group given above. If these didrachms can be certainly classed, then the question of the coins of Arsinoë will be settled. In my first paper I endeavoured to show that the coins in question were of the latter part of the reign of Ptolemy I. and the earlier part of that of Ptolemy II. In my second paper I so far changed my view as to consider a coin dated ΚΓ or Λ to be of the year ΚΓ (23), and of the second instead of the first Ptolemy. Since these papers were written a consideration

of your arguments has induced me to make a more minute examination of the coins I had ascribed to Ptolemy I., and the result I have arrived at seems to me to clear up the difficulties, not merely of this class of the Egyptian coinage, and that for the illustration of which I cite it, but also to establish several points of importance for the whole series.

The coins of Ptolemy I., inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, are of two classes, without dates and dated. The coins without dates are so similar, that it is evident that they were struck within a short period. They bear evidence that tends to corroborate this, and shows an additional fact of far more importance. My lamented colleague, Mr. Burgon, in the Pembroke Catalogue, first observed an artist's initial upon a coin of this class. He thus describes the coin :—

"1283. Another [of Ptolemy I.], but with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Old portrait; the eye-lashes expressed; in f. l. [field left], P above ΠΑΡ in mon. Pemb. p. 2, t. 56 (as Philadelphus); a very fine tetradrachm. Size, 7; weight, 219¹⁰/₁₆ grs. * * * Behind the ear of Ptolemy is a very small Delta, in a curl of a lock of the hair, no doubt the initial letter of the artist's name. This [occurrence of an artist's initial or name] is extremely unusual, except in Sicily."—p. 273.

A careful examination of the specimens in the Museum of the coins of the class under consideration, has convinced me that this letter is to be seen in almost all in which the portion of the coin where it occurs is both clearly struck and well preserved. The following is the result of my examination, which I have thought sufficiently interesting to be put on record in a tabular form. The striking and preservation referred to in the table are those of the portion where the letter is found :—

No.	Mint, letters or monograms, symbols, &c.	Striking.	Pre-servation.	Δ		
				Visible.	Not Visible.	Absent.
1	Tyre mon. TYP club	Clear	Good			—
2	H club	Clear	Good			—
3	Id.		Bad		—	
4	Id.		Bad		—	
5	O club	Clear	Fair		—	
6	Sidon Σ I	Clear	Good			—
7	Id. Σ I, M	Fair	Fair			—
8	Id. Σ I mon. N in O	Not Clear	Fair	—		
9	Id. ITT mons. APO ? $\Delta\Omega$ shield	Not Clear	Fair			—
10	ITT mons. APO ? $\Delta\Omega$ shield	Fair	Good			—
11	ITT mons. APO ? MN shield		Bad		—	
12	ITT mon. Δ PIO shield	Fair	Good			—
13	ITT mon. Δ P shield	Fair	Poor			—
14	ITT mon. YTA shield	Fair	Poor		—?	
14a	ITT mon. FYA shield		Poor	—		
15	Mons. ITT Δ P shield		Very bad		—	
16	Mons. ITT $\Delta\Omega$ shield	Fair	Good	—		
17	Mons. ITT $\Delta\Omega$ shield	Fair	Fair	—		
18	Mons. ITT IA ? shield		Very bad		—	
19	Mon. ITT KA shield	Clear	Poor			—
20	Mon. ITT KA shield		Very bad		—	
21	Mon. ITT KA shield	Fair	Fair			
22	Mons. ITT MN shield	Clear	Very good	—(A ?)		
23	Mons. ITAPT, ITT in O	Not clear	Bad			—
24	Mons. ITAPT, ITT in O	Clear	Fair			—
25	Mons. ITAPT, ITT in O	Fair	Fair			—
26	Mons. ITAPT, ITT ? in O	Clear ?	Fair			—
27	Σ T, mon. KAE, ITT		Poor	—		
28	Σ T, mon. A in IT		Poor	—		
29	Σ T, mon. A in IT	Not clear	Bad		—	
30	Mon. Σ A' or A Σ , shield	Clear	Fine	—		
31	Mon. Σ A or A Σ shield A	Not clear	Fair			—
32	Mon. Σ A or A Σ shield Δ	Not clear	Good		—	
33	Mon. Σ A' or A Σ shield E	Clear	Fair			—
34	Mon. Σ A or A Σ shield E		Bad			—?
35	Mon. Σ A or A Σ shield P	Not clear	Fine			
36	Mon. Σ A or A Σ shield mon. Δ H	Clear	Good			—
37	Mon. Σ A or A Σ shield mon. } H ? A }	Clear	Fair			—
38	Mon. Σ A or A Σ shield mon. } IA (or Δ) T }	Clear	Fine			—
39	Mon. Σ A or A Σ shield . . ?		Bad		—	
40	Mon. Σ A or A Σ (no shield)	Fair	Good			—
41	Σ T KI	Clear	Good	—		
42	Σ T		Very bad		—	
43	Σ T KI mon. XA		Bad		—	
44	A		Poor	—		
45	Δ	Clear	Good	—		
46	P, A	Clear	Very good	—(A ?)		
47	P, A		Bad		—	
48	P, Ξ	Clear	Good	—		

No.	Mint, letters or monogram, symbols, &c.	Striking.	Pre-servation.	Visible.		
				Visible.	Not Visible.	Absent.
49	P, Σ	Not clear ?	Poor ?	—		
50	P, Φ	Clear	Very good	—		
51	P, mon. AP	Fair	Good	—		
52	P, mon. M above A in II	Clear	Good	—		
53	P, mon. A reversed M	Not clear	Good	—		
54	P, mon. A in II		Very bad		—	
54a	P, mon. A in II.	Not clear	Good	—		
55	P, mon. I M	Not clear	Good	—(A ?)		
56	P, mon. IIAP	Clear	Good	—		
57	P, mon. YII	Not clear	Good	—		
58	P, mon. XAP	Not clear	Good	—(A ?)		
59	P, mon. XAP		Bad	—		—
60	Φ, A	Clear	Good			
61	Φ, mon. A reversed MI		Fair	—		
62	Φ, mon. A in II	Clear	Good	—		
63	Φ, mon. XAP		Poor	—		
64	EY, KA		Poor			— ?
65	EY, KA, A		Bad			— P
66	EY, mon. KAE		Very bad	—		
67	EY, mon. K ? AE, A ?		Poor	—		
68	EY, mon. XA		Very bad		—	
69	ΣT mon. XAP	Not clear	Poor	—(A ?)		
70	Mon. ΓAI, Δ		Very bad		—	
71	Mon. ΓAI, Δ	Clear	Very good	—		
72	Mons. ΓAI, IM	Clear	Very good	—		
73	Mons. ΓAI, YII		{ Poor(ox- ydized)	—(A ?)		
74	Mon. ΔA	Clear	Very good	—		
75	Mon. ΔAM	Clear	Fair	—		
76	Mon. ΔA ? M	Clear	Good	—		
77	Mon. EII	Clear	Good	—		
77a	Mon. A reversed MI	Clear	Very good	—		
78	Mon. MI		{ Poor(ox- ydized)		—	
79	Mon. IM		{ Poor(ox- ydized)	—(A ?)		
80	Mon. IIAPT, A	Clear	Good			—
81	Mon. IY	Not clear	Poor	—(A ?)		
82	Mon. YII	Clear	Fair	—		
83	Mon. XA	Not clear	Bad		—	
84	Mon. XAP		{ Very bad oxydized		—	
85	Mon. XAP, ΔI	Not clear	Fair		—	
				41	21	26

It is obvious from this list that the greater number of these silver didrachms must have been struck during a

limited period, and at one mint, for it is most improbable that a single artist should have gone on executing dies in precisely the same style and with the same initial letter, nearly all the examples giving an undoubted Δ, for a long time, and still more so that the dies should have been engraved at one place, and the coins struck at various mints. It must be added that the reverses show such an unmistakable identity of style that we cannot suppose they were engraved at local mints, but the head at a central mint.

In my first paper I had no hesitation in supposing that the dated coins inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, which are all of Tyre, and of the years, Κ (20), ΚΒ (22), ΚΓ (23), and ΚΔ (24), follow those just described: at the same time it is quite possible that they form the latest portion of this class, as they are of only one mint. I also supposed that the dated coins, inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, of Tyre and other mints, and of the years ΚΕ (25), ΚΣ (26), ΚΞ (27), ΚΘ (29), Λ (30), ΛΑ (31), ΛΒ (32), ΛΓ (33), ΛΔ (34), ΛΕ (35), ΛΣ (36), ΛΞ (37), ΛΗ (38), ΛΘ (39), formed the continuation of those with earlier dates. I have since been able to connect the two dated groups. The Museum collection contains a didrachm of Tyre, with a monogram, ΚΚΔ (24), and the inscription ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ [Σ]Ω[Τ]ΗΡ[Ο]Σ, the title being changed from ΒΑΣ[ΙΛΕ]Ω[Σ], of which there are distinct traces. (Pl. V., No. 11). Here there is a case of an altered die, in consequence of the change of the king's title during a year. It may also be remarked that beneath the date are the letters ΕΙ, also found beneath the date in a didrachm of the year ΚΘ (29). The theory of the change of title having taken place during the 24th year of Ptolemy does not, however, depend wholly upon the single evidence of this

coin. There is another of the same date and with the title ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, also in the Museum, with three monograms besides that of the date. (Pl. V., No. 12.) These monograms are of Ptolemaïs, Joppa ? and Gaza, as will be shown in a future part of this essay. It is quite certain that two are of different cities, and the custom of striking for, and not at, cities explains such an exceptional coin as this, struck for two or three cities, instead of each city's having a separate coin. The change in the king's title during a year of which coins had been already issued with the old title, would explain this combination of cities in a hasty issue with the new title, and it may be remarked that the coin is not only from a carelessly-executed die, but also hastily struck. In both these examples the form of the monogram is different from that of the coins inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, of Tyre, with the date Κ or K, read by me ΚΑ (24). The hypothesis that they are of the 24th years of two different kings, ending and commencing the two dated groups, is too violent to be suggested; besides that the proof I shall bring forward that the monogram ΚΕ is of Ptolemy I., overthrows this supposition, as it proves the class of coins with later dates (ΚΕ to ΛΘ) to be of Ptolemy I., and it is scarcely necessary to show that the coins with earlier dates must be anterior to them. It must also be observed, that the coinage of the year ΚΑ (24) is followed by the issue, in the next year, ΚΕ (25), of coins of three cities, Ptolemaïs, Joppa ? and Gaza, of two if not three of which the monograms occur together on one of its coins with the new title. It seems just possible that the monogram last cited is ΚΑ (21) wanting in the series, and the other alone ΚΑ.

The group of coins dated ΚΕ (25) to ΛΘ (39) has a peculiarity which connects them with the undated coins

inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, and the remarkable coin of two or three cities just mentioned: although they have the initial letters or monograms of several cities, Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, &c., they were all struck at one mint. That this was the case is proved by the portraits they bear changing in style according to date, not place: this would be shown in a table, could I indicate the different types in such a manner as to make it possible to trace them in specimens by comparison. The differences are, however, so slight in some instances, and a type so often runs on beyond its year before disappearing, that I could only give the evidence of the Museum specimens by a very careful series of illustrations representing 39 coins. I must remark, parenthetically, that the historical difficulties attending the theory that the coins under consideration were issued in the reign of Ptolemy I. almost disappear when we know they were struck for, and not at all the cities, or all the cities but one, which are designated upon them. They may have been struck in Egypt, and sometimes for the use of armies in the field near cities not in the hands of Ptolemy I.

There is thus an important similarity between the coins inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ without dates, and the class just noticed. The latter class is further shown to be a continuation of the former by the following evidence.

The monogram N in O is found on a coin of Sidon, inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, and without date, and upon a coin of the same town, inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and dated in the year ΚΕ (25), as well as upon coins of the latter class of Tyre with later dates. As this monogram occurs on coins of two cities, there can be no reasonable doubt that it is not the initial of a title

or epithet of those cities (like Metropolis), but of a moneyer or other official of the central mint. The recurrence of a monogram of such a kind, twenty-five years or more after its first occurrence, is extremely unlikely. More conclusive, however, than the evidence of any of the preceding data, is that of a tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorcetes, bearing a double date. It may be thus described :—

Obv.—Head of Demetrius, to right, with bull's horn, diademed.

Rev.—ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Neptune, seated to left, on rock, holding an aplustre and trident; in front, mon TAP? beneath which, Ξ ; behind, mon. K, KΘ. (Pl. V., No. 13.)

The monogram KΘ differs from that marking the date 25 on the coins inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, in but one particular, the horizontal limb of the E is represented by a dot instead of a line. The occurrence of this monogram suggested to me that it might be a date. If so, of whom? First, let us suppose of Demetrius. It is very improbable that Demetrius could have counted a 25th year, for he would have reckoned either from the date at which he took the title of king, B.C. 306, or that of the death of Antigonos, B.C. 301, the earlier of which dates is but 21 years before his surrender to Seleucus, B.C. 286. May it not be a date of Ptolemy I., who, if my attribution be right, struck in his 25th year, and used the same monogram? If so, the Ξ might be the corresponding date of Demetrius, and accordingly the 25th year of Ptolemy corresponds to the 7th year, counting from the taking of the title of king, of Demetrius. The only objection that can be made to this explanation seems to be this: that it rests upon the supposition that Ptolemy I.

and Demetrius reckon differently, the former from the death of Alexander, the latter from the taking a title. But it must be remembered that Ptolemy was governor of Egypt, and virtually king, from the date he is supposed by me to have adopted as that of his accession; whereas Demetrius acted as a general of his father's, Antigonos, until he received from him the title of king, which would necessarily make him a colleague. This explanation throws an unexpected light upon the dated Attic gold tetroboli, if we may use the term, of Ptolemy I., to which you have drawn my attention. The coins differ from the ordinary gold money of Ptolemy in two particulars, in having as the reverse-type, like the gold staters of Alexander, a Victory, the elephant-quadrige coin being the only other exception in the series of Ptolemy I., all other gold coins having the eagle; and also in following the Attic weight. It is not a little remarkable that the Attic gold stater of Demetrius Poliorcetes in the Museum, with the types of Alexander's gold staters, and, therefore, the same reverse-type as the tetroboli just described, bears the letter π ; if a date, 7. It can scarcely be supposed that Ptolemy I. struck coins with dates of the reign of Demetrius without adding his own, yet the agreement of date and reverse-type can scarcely be accidental, and it seems, therefore, probable that the low dates of these coins indicate that Ptolemy I. first dated from the taking the regal title, and so from the same year as Demetrius. It must be observed that the general adoption upon coins of the dating from his accession as governor did not take place, according to my theory, until the course of the 24th year, and that the use of a local era might well have continued until the 25th. The occurrence, however, of a date of Ptolemy I. on a coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes requires

explanation. It was in the 25th—26th year of Ptolemy I. that a treaty was concluded between him and Demetrius; it was in the 24th year that Ptolemy began to strike dated coins for the cities of Phœnicia, and Palestine, besides Tyre; it was in the 25th that he commenced a separate issue for each of those cities. No doubt Demetrius at the ratification of the treaty issued money with Ptolemy's date as a mark of the closeness of their alliance. The value of this double-dated coin is, that it carries us from the class ending in ΚΔ (24) into that beginning in the same year, and continuing in ΚΕ (25) and following years, and that it shows that the treaty between Ptolemy I. and Demetrius was really an important one. If the year ΚΕ here is that of Ptolemy I., the coins with the same monogram inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ cannot be doubted to be of the same sovereign.

To return to Arsinoë. If the coinage of Ptolemy I. include the coins inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, dated from the year ΚΕ (25) to ΛΘ (39), it follows that the coinage with the name of Arsinoë, omitting the very late coins of base style, would fall under the following classes:—

1. Gold staters with young portrait, dated ΑΔ to Ι, and silver pentadrachms. Arsinoë I.
2. Gold staters with older portrait, dated ΙΓ — ΑΓ, and staters with four heads. Arsinoë II.

The first class would have been struck in the later years of Ptolemy I. and the earlier of Ptolemy II.; the second in the reign of the second king, except in the case of those staters with four portraits, which are evidently of the reign of Ptolemy III. I am aware that the suppositions that Arsinoë I. was married to Ptolemy II. during his father's reign, still more that coins were struck with her name

while both Ptolemy I. and Berenice I. were still living, and the former had not taken his son as his colleague, seem contrary to history and sound criticism. The coins appear, however, so distinctly to point to those two inferences, that I am justified in endeavouring to defend them. The date of the marriage of Arsinoë I. is, I believe, nowhere stated in ancient literature. The definite statements of modern writers would then be founded on nothing better than negative evidence, when even positive evidence would not weigh against that of monuments. The issue of a separate coinage by the wife of a prince, possibly not even the heir to the throne, presents greater difficulties, which unfortunately can only be met by conjectures. The following points seem not unworthy of notice. The staters of Arsinoë are virtually a new coinage, Ptolemy I. having issued only pieces of two-and-a-half drachms; there would, therefore, be a reason for issuing a new coinage with a new portrait. All Ptolemy's gold coins are inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. If the silver coins dated ΚΘ to ΛΘ are of his reign, there are no gold coins with his name corresponding to a silver series extending over 15 prosperous years and abundant in quantity. Ptolemy was always ambitious to gain the Macedonian kingdom; Arsinoë I. was daughter of Lysimachus, and Ptolemy may have originally intended that Philadelphus should attempt to secure Macedon after the death of Lysimachus. The coins of Arsinoë I., as far as we know, were issued in or for Phœnicia or Palestine, not in or for Egypt. They are thus, apparently, a local coinage, and their issue might have been the first step towards putting Ptolemy Philadelphus in the place of Ptolemy Ceraunus as heir, a step not unlike the taking of Philadelphus as colleague. The coins of Berenice I.

bear the title ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ; so those of Berenice II. these have only ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ; to which there are no parallels but the later coins with the same inscription, if my classification be right, and the evident imitations of Arsinoë III. inscribed ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΟΣ; the other three queens who struck coins, Cleopatra I., III., and VI., taking the title queen, like the Berenices. The first coins of Arsinoë I. might, therefore, have been struck before she was queen.

I must briefly notice your remaining observations.

You say that Arsinoë II. could not have been represented on her coins as a divinity in her lifetime. I would reply that she is represented in the character of a divinity rather than as a dead sovereign deified. The veil is here an attribute of Juno or Isis, not of a deceased sovereign. Otherwise the coins of Egyptian queens to Arsinoë III. Philopator, except those of Berenice I., are posthumous.

The Attic gold tetroboli of Ptolemy I. I have already noticed.

You lay, I think, too much stress upon the difference and similarity of the eagles on the reverses of the coins of the Ptolemies. If, for instance, you compare the eagle on the coins of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, extending certainly to his 5th year, with that of the didrachm of Ptolemy VII. Philometor, with the latter title, dated in his 14th year, you will see that they are very different, especially in the leg-feathers, which seem to change more regularly than any other peculiarities.

With respect to the dated coins inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and undoubtedly posthumous, you will agree with me that the view to be taken of their era depends upon the attribution of the coins inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, dated ΚΕ (25) to ΛΘ (39). If any dated coins

were so inscribed during Ptolemy's lifetime, then there can be no reasonable doubt that later coins followed his era, notwithstanding the issue by Ptolemy II. Philadelphus of coins with the same inscription and his own dates. I must, however, notice as confirmatory of the attribution you propose, that the *Bibliothèque Impériale* contains a hemidrachm with the date PΘ (109) in the field, and a letter E (5?) on the thunderbolt. According to my theory the year of this era 109 corresponded to the 7th of Ptolemy IV.; according to yours, to the 5th of Ptolemy VII.; but I must remark that the letter on the thunderbolt seems of very doubtful authenticity.

The other points you have raised I have not neglected to examine, but I am unable to offer any new light upon them.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

REGINALD STUART POOLE.

V.

NOTE ON SOME GOLD COINS BEARING THE
NAME OF THEODOSIUS.

(Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 17, 1864.)

Some time has now elapsed since I ventured to dispute the conclusions arrived at by M. Cohen, relative to the interpretation of the letters CONOB, OB, &c., and the gratifying manner in which my remarks were received in Germany and Belgium has offered me an inducement to briefly notice what M. Cohen has said respecting the coins of the two Theodosii.

It will be in the remembrance of my readers, that in the first volume of the new series of the Chronicle, there is a paper by me on this subject, and from a perusal of what M. Cohen has said, it appears that all the views stated there are adopted with the exception of three—the first, relating to the gold coins with the *helmeted full-faced bust*, and the legend D. N. THEODOSIVS P. F. AVG.; the second, respecting a *tremissis* of gold (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 35); and the third, respecting the classification of the silver and copper.

It is to the first two of these exceptions that I more especially wish to call the attention of numismatists, and it may be as well to give a description of the gold coins in question, previous to producing my arguments—

1. *Obv.*—D. N. THEODOSIVS P. F. AVG. Helmeted head of a Theodosius, facing, with cuirass, holding a spear and a shield, on which is represented

the Emperor, galloping to the right, about to hurl a spear against an enemy.

Rev.—CONCORDIA AUGGG (with various Greek differentials). Rome, helmeted, seated facing, looking to the right, placing the right foot on the prow of a vessel, and holding a sceptre, and a globe on which is a Victory; in the *exergue*, CONOB; in the *field*, a star. (Cohen, No. 10).

2. *Obv.*—D. N. THEODOSIVS P. F. AVG. Bust of a Theodosius, to the right, diademed, with the *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—No legend. Trophy. On either side a star. In the *exergue*, CONOB. (Cohen, No. 35). *Tremissis.*

It is with some satisfaction that I notice that although M. Cohen does not recognise the attribution of these coins to Theodosius II., yet at the same time he has taken care to mark his arrangement with a point of interrogation. He argues that both these coins are of too good fabric to belong to the period of Theodosius II., and are precisely of the style of those of Gratian, Valentinian II., Arcadius, and Honorius, and that moreover the horseman on the shield of No. 1 is as well executed as that found on the coins of Constantius II., of whom there are also coins with the helmeted full-faced bust. "Lastly," says M. Cohen, "if this coin belongs to Theodosius II., it must have been struck during the period when this prince reigned conjointly with Honorius, as also M. de Salis has remarked to me."

It is not, however, my object this time to discuss the fabric of these coins. I intend only to say a few words about the *star* which occurs upon both the specimens above described.

M. Cohen (vol. vi., p. 455, *note*) has already alluded to it in the following words:—"Mr. Frederic Madden

asserts that the star appears for the first time under Honorius and Theodosius II., on the coins struck at Constantinople. It appears to me that, occurring under Honorius with this same reverse — CONCORDIA AVGGG—it is quite natural to suppose that this star must have commenced to figure for the first time under Theodosius I., who was his (Honorius') father."

I beg now to give my reasons for maintaining my former assertions.

Let the reader take four coins, all with the legend CONCORDIA AVGGG—one of Theodosius I. (with the usual side-faced bust), two of Honorius (one *without*, the other *with the star*), and one of a Theodosius (*with the star*), and a natural question will at once arise, at what period were the coins of Honorius, *without* a star, struck?

If the coins of Theodosius, *with a star*, are to be given to the elder one, we must suppose that Honorius struck a few *without a star* as an experiment, for all succeeding Emperors use the star.

Is it not much better to classify the coins in the following manner? :—

1. THEODOSIUS I. Side-faced bust. CONCORDIA AVGG.
No star.
2. HONORIUS. Full-faced bust. CONCORDIA AVGG.
No star.
3. HONORIUS. Full-faced bust. CONCORDIA AVGG.
Star. (A later coinage.)
4. THEODOSIUS II. Full-faced bust. CONCORDIA
AVGG. *Star.*

From this simple mode of classification we gain the information that,—whereas Honorius in the early part of his reign struck coins *without a star*, identical with those of his brother Arcadius in the East,—when he and his nephew

Theodosius II. reigned together, they issued a new coinage, the same type, but with the addition of a *star*.

For the same reasons the *tremissis* above described (No. 2) belongs to Theodosius II.

It is true that there is greater uncertainty about the silver and copper. I have nothing, therefore, at present further to add to the observations I have made in a previous paper (Num. Chron., N. S., vol. i., p. 182).

It is to be observed that M. Sabatier, in his work on the *Monnaies Byzantines*, assigns these coins *without a word* to Theodosius II., but on the other hand he has given the second brass coin, with diademed helmeted bust and the reverse legend GLORIA ROMANORVM (No. 28., pl. v. 14) to the same Emperor. Here he is decidedly in error, for this coin must belong to Theodosius I., as M. Cohen has also remarked, as the type of the bust and of the reverse, and the style of it altogether, are exactly similar to the coins of Gratian and Valentinian II.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

VI.

INEDITED COPPER COIN OF EVAGORAS.

Obv.—BA. Helmeted head of Pallas, with ear-rings, to right.

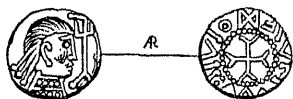
Rev.—EYA. Lion, walking, to right; a star with eight rays over its mane. *Æ.* Size 8.

This coin was found in Cyprus, and is now in my possession. Of the two Kings of Salamis bearing the same name, we may safely give it to Evagoras I., for its reverse is almost identical with that of the fine gold stater restored to that prince by the late respected Mr. H. P. Borrell, of Smyrna; and although the obverse shows the head of Pallas, which figures also on the coins attributed by that learned numismatist to Evagoras II., this circumstance does not alter my opinion in the least. Borrell admits the possibility of his having made, in this instance, an erroneous classification; and in his brief memoir of Evagoras II. ("Notice sur quelques Médailles Grecques des rois de Chypre," page 42—46) we find it stated that this prince was expelled from his dominions (most probably within a very short period of his accession to the regal authority), and that he was never reinstated.

With these facts before us, if we turn to the copper coin I now publish, and observe its connection with both the gold stater of Evagoras I. and with the coins classed to Evagoras II., we shall have no hesitation in assigning our coin to the founder of the dynasty, and in restoring to him those supposed to have been minted for his grandson.

D. PIERIDES.

Larnacæ (Cyprus), October, 1864.



VII.

ON A GOLD COIN FOUND NEAR CANTERBURY.

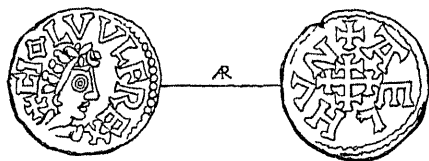
Upwards of twenty years ago I published in the *Numismatic Chronicle** an account of the discovery of a number of Merovingian and other gold coins on a continuation of Bagshot Heath, at Crondale, Hants, in the year 1828. Among these were several bearing a head full-faced, and having on the reverse the legend LONDVNI. These I did not hesitate to ascribe to the episcopal mint of London. Since that time I have seen no reason to doubt the propriety of that attribution. There were other types in this find which I ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical mints, but in noticing the rude pieces—Nos. 24, 25, 26—I have inadvertently included No. 27. I now forward for the inspection of the Numismatic Society an impression of an exceedingly well-preserved coin found near Canterbury. It is struck apparently from the same die as No. 27, and I think it is in finer condition. The runic \mathfrak{D} appears in the legend of the reverse, and in fact the whole legend would seem to be formed of runes, containing, perhaps, the name of the

¹ Vol. vi. p. 171.

moneyer. The obverse is without legend, and bears a head in profile to the right. In the field is an object which I am unable to explain. It may be intended for a monogram, containing the name of the ecclesiastic by whose order the coin was struck. Such an object can scarcely be designed to symbolise the Trinity. We require, it is true, successive findings to justify their appropriation to the archiepiscopal mint of Canterbury. That they are prelatial coins, struck by Anglo-Saxon bishops or archbishops, I feel certain, and I think we shall not err in assigning them to that city.

J. Y. AKERMAN.

Abingdon, Nov. 10, 1864. }



VIII.

PENNY OF CIOLWULF, FROM BEDFORDSHIRE.

Obv.—+CI◇LVVLFREX. Head, encircled, to the right.

Rev.—+ÆELHVN. A cross, crosletted.

This coin appears to be altogether a new variety, both as regards type and fabric. It has neither the plain nor pearly inner circle common to coins of the period: and the moneyer's name does not seem to be known, while there are other peculiarities. Mr. Hawkins, who assigns coins spelt *Ciolwlf* to the second Mercian king of that name, does not rest his reasons for so doing solely on the spelling. So far as I have been able, from materials at hand, I have compared this with contemporaneous coins, and am disposed to think it may rather be assigned to the first than to the second *Ceolwulf*.

The coin is communicated to me by Mr. William Horley, of Toddington, Bedfordshire, who states that it was found there.

C. ROACH SMITH.

NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In Nos. 5 and 6 (September—December) of the *Revue Numismatique Française* for 1864, there are the following articles:—

1. "On the *anousvara* in Gaulish Numismatics," by M. A. de Longpérier.

"The Sanscrit word, *anousvara*, is composed of the preposition *anou* (after), and *svara* (sound). . . . In the Indian language this latter sound is always the nasal which requires the consonant following, which forms or does not form part of the same word. If there is not a consonant after the *anousvara*, it has ordinarily the value of M." Such is the interpretation of this word, as given by M. A. De Longpérier, who illustrates his paper with many examples; among which may be mentioned, COS for CONS, ROMA RENASCES and RESVRGES on coins of Galba and Vespasian; IOVIS AXVR (cf. *Ἀνξωρ*, Diod. Sic. XIV., 16, 5.) on coins of the Vibia family, &c., &c. The pith of the paper then follows, being examples and illustrations of the use of the *anousvara* on Gaulish coins.

2. "Examination of some ancient forgeries of the tetradrachms of Syracuse, and of the pretended name of the engraver, Eumelus," by M. A. Salinas.

3. "Letter to M. A. de Longpérier 'On the Legend of a Coin of Gortyna, in Crete,'" from M. François Lenormant.

4. "New Observations on Jewish Coinage, *apropos* of the work entitled 'History of Jewish Coinage,' of Mr. Frederic W. Madden." London, 1864. Letter to M. J. de Witte, from M. F. de Saulcy.

M. de Saulcy still persists, in spite of the authority and opinion of Bayer, Eckhel, Ewald, Garucci, Cavedoni, Levy, Reichardt, Poole, and Madden, in attributing the shekels and half-shekels to the high-priest Jaddua. Some observations on the opinion of M. de Saulcy will probably appear in the next Part of the Numismatic Chronicle.

5. "Merovingian Numismatics. Rectifications and Inedited Coins," by M. Anatole de Barthélemy.

6. "Coins of Lucca (Third Part). Of the Monetary Reform of Frederick II., and the Types adopted at Lucca during the Thirteenth Century," by M. Domenico Massagli.

7. "Notes concerning *Méreaux*, and other pieces of the same kind," by M. J. Rouyer.

In the *Bulletin Bibliographique* are notices of the two following works: "On a Gaulish Silver Coin, with the supposed representation of a Druid," by M. Franz Streber; and "Seal and Coins of Zuentibold, King of Lorraine; coin of his successor Louis," by M. Ch. Robert.

In the *Chronique* there are some remarks by M. A. de Longpérier "On a Coin supposed to belong to Lepida, wife of Galba."

This coin is published in the *Archiv für Numismatik und Geldwissenschaft*, by M. Gerhard, and is of second brass, on the obverse the head of a female opposite that of a man, with the legend, ΓΑΛΒΑ CE[BA]CTOC; and on the reverse Pallas, with the word ΙΑΙ [εωρ].

M. le Baron de Prokesch-Osten proposes to consider the female head as that of Lepida; whilst M. Gerhard suggests the name of Livia, *protectrix* of Galba (Suet. *Galb.* V.).

M. Cavedoni decides for Livia, on account of the head-dress; and M. A. de Longpérier adds, "That which appears decisive is the forward place given to the female bust, a place which would be chosen for a person to whom Galba wished to acknowledge his gratitude. The remark, therefore, of M. Gerhard is of great value."

There is also in the *Chronique* an account of a Gaulish coin with the legends BRI and CO[MA], found at Carthage, in Africa; and of a large brass of Maximinus, with the reverse legend FIDES MILITVM, found in an encampment of French soldiers, near to Mytho, in Cochinchina. This coin appears to be the first ancient piece which has been found at so great a distance from the West.

In the *première livraison* of the *Revue Belge* for 1865 there are the following articles:—

1. "Gallo-Belgic Numismatics, or Monetary History of the Atrebat, the Morini, and Gallo-Belgic nations in general," (continued) by M. Alexandre Hermand.

2. Second letter to M. R. Chalon "On the Elements of Muslim Numismatics," from M. F. Soret.

3. "French Jetons relating to the Peace of the Pyrenees, and to the Marriage of Louis XIV. with the Infanta of Spain," by M. A. Preux.

4. "*Deniers* of Louis IV. of Germany, struck at Antwerp," by M. Morel Fatio.

5. "Notice of an inedited *Méreau* of Doesbourgh," by M. Hooft Van Iddekinge.

In the *Correspondance* is a letter from M. le Comte Nahuy to M. R. Chalon, concerning the sterling of Vorst.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of various numismatic publications.

In the *Nécrologie* are short biographies of MM. G. Vander Meer and Pierre Joseph Braemt.

In the fifth volume of the second series of the *Opuscoli Religiosi Letterari e Morali*, published at Modena, there is an article by Sig. Abbate Celestino Cavedoni, entitled "*Le principali Questioni riguardanti la Numismatica Giudaica diffinitivamente decise.*"

This paper is an excellent and highly complimentary review of Mr. Madden's "History of Jewish Coinage and Money in the Old and New Testaments." The Abbé Cavedoni agrees with nearly all the attributions and the suggestions in the work, and considers that this "*insigne e splendida opera,*" which is "*nel suo genere completa e perfetta,*" definitely settles all questions relating to Jewish numismatics.

"Recherches sur la Monnaie Romaine depuis son origine jusqu'à la mort d'Auguste," par M. Pierre Philippe Bourlier, Baron d'Ailly. Tome I. Lyon, 1864. 4to. Forty-nine Plates.

WE have here the first volume of a magnificent work upon what has commonly been known as the Roman Consular series, which promises to give by far the most copious and detailed account of these coins which has ever appeared. Printed on toned paper, with handsome margins, and with plates such as only the graver of Dardel can produce, it is as superior in outward appearance to Riccio's book on the same subject, as it is in carefulness of detail and fidelity of representation. The only book we have at present that is at all worthy to be placed by its side, is Cohen's *Médailles Consulaires*; but to judge from Baron d'Ailly's promises, his work will be as much in advance of M. Cohen's, as M. Cohen's was of any of his predecessors. In the present volume there are not, however, many grounds of comparison between the two authors, as Baron d'Ailly's forty-nine plates are almost exclusively devoted to the *Æs grave* and its parts, and the early gold and silver coins, with the Jani-form heads, to which Cohen has given some five or six plates only. At the first examination of the Baron d'Ailly's plates, the impression is received that an unnecessary number of examples of the various coins have been given; the plates being often filled with what would by many collectors be regarded as duplicates; but a closer inspection reveals the various differences in style and details which characterise the coins, and proves the amount of careful attention which has been bestowed by the

author on his subject. We cannot at present enter into any critical examination of the descriptive part of the work, but it must be evident that one who has been able to make such a selection of coins as those exhibited in the plates, must have had almost unparalleled opportunities of acquiring a thorough practical knowledge of the coins of which he treats, and such as must have enabled him to draw many, and among them probably some new general conclusions from them.

In his method of treating the subject, the Baron d'Ailly has introduced two or three innovations, on which, no doubt, there will be differences of opinion, but on several points we think the verdict of numismatists will be in his favour. One of these consists in engraving the reverse of each coin below the obverse, instead of, as usual, by its side. The great advantage of this is the facility it affords for comparing the obverses or the reverses of a series of nearly similar coins together, and of at once seizing the points of resemblance and difference. Another innovation, which few will regret, is the introduction of the metrical system of measurement, instead of the arbitrary scale of Mionnet.

We hope that ere long we may have to call attention to the issue of the second volume of this valuable work; but in the meantime commend the present to such of our readers as are interested in the early Roman coinage.

MISCELLANEA.

COIN OF A NEW CITY OF MYSIA.—In January, 1863, I received a letter from M. Henri Cohen, of Paris, informing me that among a lot of coins supplied to him by M. Hoffmann, there was one reading TPIMENO@YPEQN. Astonished at this reading, he consulted all the coins in the *Cabinet des Médailles* given to Trimenothyraë, and found constantly TPI instead of TPI. He therefore begged me to ascertain if there were any coins in the British Museum with the same legend. To this I replied in the negative, feeling at the time persuaded that TPIMENO-@VPEQN was the correct form, especially as the reading in Ptolemy (ed. Wilberg. Lib. v. 2, 15) is always with a T—*δυμσκήτεροι δὲ Τριμενοθουρίται, ὧν ἔστιν ἡ Τραϊανόπολις*—and that the two specimens in the Museum, to all appearance, read in the same manner. An additional argument in favour of T may be drawn from the fact that other coins, either of a city of Lydia, according to Pausanias (lib. I. 35, 7), or of Phrygia, according to Hierocles (p. 688. ed. Wesseling), have the legend THMENO@YPEQN, a form given by Pausanias (*l.c.*) as *Τημένου*

θύραι, "gates of Temenos." The writer of the article "Temenothyrae," in Smith's "Dict. of Geography," goes so far as to consider these cities to be one and the same place.

Mr. Waddington, who published in the *Revue Numismatique* (1852, p. 94) two coins of Trimenothyrae, suggests that the city, or rather that the capital, of the Trimenothyrei, took under Hadrian, the name of Trajanopolis, as there is, in Paris, a Greek Imperial coin of Hadrian bearing the name of the same magistrate as on one of the coins of Trimenothyrae published by him, and as the first certain coins of Trimenothyrae are also of Hadrian. Millingen (*Recueil des quelques Monnaies Grecques*, p. 74) also suggested that Trimenothyrae was changed to Trajanopolis. Mr. Waddington also suggests that Trimenothyrae and Temenothyrae are neighbouring cities, and not one and the same place (cf. *Rev. Num.* 1852, p. 32).¹

To return to the question of T or Γ. Last year M. Cohen sent over to M. Cavedoni five impressions of the disputed coins, one from the collection of Mr. Waddington, one from that of M. Hoffmann, and the remaining three from the Cabinet of France. Cavedoni, after examining them, is decidedly of opinion that the true reading is ΓΡΙΜΕΝΟΘΥΡΕΩΝ, and not ΤΡΙΜΕΝΟΘΥΡΕΩΝ, and quotes as an authority (*Bull. dell' Instit.* 1863, p. 63) Tzetzes, who, apparently following the above quoted passage of Ptolemy, and writing of a city of Mysia, says (*Chiliad* xi. ver. 974),

Οἱ Γριμενοθυρίται δὲ πρὸς δυσμὰς πάλιν
Ἦν ἡ Τραιανοῦ τυγχάνει πόλις, πόλις.

Cavedoni further suggests the re-examination of the best codices of Ptolemy. I have myself consulted the only MS. of Ptolemy in the British Museum, which dates early in the 15th century, and the reading there is decidedly Τραιμενοθυρίται. Certainly the edition of Wilberg (1838), to which I have already referred, and which is considered to be one of the best, gives *Trimenothyrae* in all the various readings.

¹ An unpublished coin of Salonina, struck at Temenothyrae, with the reverse legend ΤΙΤΙΑΝΟC ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥC ΘΙΜΕΝΟΘΥΡΕΥCΙ (last seven letters in *exergue*), in the collection of the Rev. Churchill Babington, bears the following type:—"Hercules holding club, looking to right, placing his left knee on the belly of a river god, who holds up his right hand to push him off; in the field, a branching plant; below to right, an urn pouring out water." This would seem to establish the fact, as Mr. Babington has remarked to me, that Temenothyrae was situated on the banks of some river.

I cannot, however, refrain from remarking, that on re-examining the two coins in the Museum, the first letter of the legend certainly resembles a Γ, and that what might naturally be taken for the other limb, so as to form T, is the end of the *long shoe* worn by the god Lunus.² This coin is published by Mionnet (*Suppl.*, vol. v., p. 495, No. 1,261), under Trimenothyrei, Mysia. I may also observe that Combe, in his description of the Hunter collection, engraved (pl. 60, No. 6) a coin with the legend ΓΡΙΠΗΝΟΘΥΡΕΩΝ (*sic*), which he has wrongly attributed to Thurium in Acarnania. The type is similar to the one engraved by Mr. Waddington (*Rev. Num.*, 1852, pl. iv., No. 8).

There is still left the question whether *Τριμενος* and *Θύραι* does not seem more veritable Greek than *Γριμενος* and *Θύραι*, for I can find no word from which the latter could be derived, whilst two or three derivations might be suggested for the former.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

NOBLES OF HENRY V. AND VI.—The following description of some varieties of nobles of Henry V. and VI. may be of interest.

No. 1. *Obv.*—HENRIQ × DI × GRA × REX × ANGEL × S × FRANQ × DNS × HYB ×. Five ropes to the ship; star under the king's sword-arm; annulet between the arm and sword; trefoil at the side of shield; on the ship's side a lion with two fleurs-de-lis on either side, and lower down an annulet.

Rev.—*m.m.* pierced cross; IHQ × AVTQM × TRANSIQNS × PQR × MQDIV × ILLORV × IBAT' Usual type; with a small cross by the lion's head, within the second curve of tressure. 107 grains.

No. 2. *Obv.*—As No. 1; but there are only three ropes to the ship.

Rev.—As No. 1; but with a pellet at the tail of the lion, in the eighth curve of tressure.

² I have also, thanks to the kindness of General Fox and Mr. Langdon, an impression of one of these coins in the General's cabinet, and here also the Γ is quite distinct. An impression which I took some time ago from an imperial coin of Claudius of this city, belonging to M. Feuardent, again affords sufficient proof that the letter Γ is correct.

- No. 3. Weight, 107½ grs. *Obv.*—Legend as No. 1, but with lis after the king's name, and a trefoil after each of the other words; three ropes to ship; annulet under the king's sword-arm; on the ship's side three fleurs-de-lis and two lions.

Rev.—*m.m.* Lis. IH'Q * AVT ∴ TRANSIQNS ∴ PQR ∴ MQDIVM ∴ ILLORV ∴ IBAT. Usual type, with an annulet outside of tressure, under IH'Q.

- No. 4. Weight, 111 grs. *Obv.*—Legend as No. 1, but ending HIB, with a cinquefoil after each word, except RQX, which has a diamond. Type as No. 3, but with lis, instead of annulet, under the king's sword-arm.

Rev.—*m.m.* Lis. IH'Q. AVT. TRANSIQNS (*sic*) PQR. MQDIVM. ILLORV. IBAT. with a leaf after each word, except PQR, which has a diamond; small lis by the head of third lion, under MQDIVM; and the H in the centre upside down.

- No. 5. Weight, 108 grs. Legend as No. 1, but ending HIYB. with a leaf after each word, except RQX. which has a diamond; three fleurs-de-lis and two lions on the ship's side.

Rev.—*m.m.* Lis. IH'Q. AVT. TRANSIQNS (*sic*) PQR. MQDIVM. ILLORVM. IBAT. with a leaf after each word, except PQR, which has a diamond; small lis by the head of first lion, under AVT.

- No. 6. Henry VI. noble. Weight, 107½ grs. His last coinage.

Obv.—H · QNRIC' : DI ∴ GRA' ∴ RQX ∴ ANGL × S × FRANQ ∴ DNS HY. Portrait like the first type of Edward IV.; under the shield a fleur-de-lis, between a leaf and an annulet; on the ship's side three fleurs-de-lis and two lions.

Rev.—*m.m.* Lis. IH'Q × AVT × TRANSIQNS PQR MQDIVM ILLORV IBAT. with the H in the centre, upside down, as on No. 4.

W. WEBSTER.

FIND OF ROMAN COINS.—The coins of which a short description here follows, and for an examination of which the Numismatic Society is indebted to James Farrer, Esq., M.P., were,

found on the 20th June, 1864, at Chedworth Wood, near Foss Bridge, Gloucestershire, on the estate of the Earl of Eldon. They were found dispersedly over the villa which has been there discovered, most of them within an area of twenty square yards. One—but which one I am unable to say—was found in the bath. They are nearly all barbarous coins. Those of Allectus are very fine, and one more especially, the module being larger than usual.

ANTONINUS PIUS.

1. *Obv.*—[ANTONINVS] AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS [III]. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev.—[SALVS AV]GG. Female figure standing to the left, feeding a serpent, which is entwined round an altar, holding a *patera* and rudder, resting on a globe. (Cohen, *Méd Imp.*, No. 779.) Æ. I. 1.

VICTORINUS.

2. *Obv.*—IMP. C. VICTORINVS P. F. AVG. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—PAX. AVG. Peace standing to left, holding an olive branch and a sceptre; in the *field*, to left, V, and to right, *. (Cohen, No. 48.) Æ. III. 2.

TETRICUS I.

3. *Obv.*—IMP. TETRICUS P. F. AVG. Bust to the right, radiated, with cuirass.

Rev.—HILARITAS AVGG. Female figure standing to left, holding a palm and a cornucopiæ. (Cohen, No. 62.) Æ. III. 1.

4. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

Rev.—SALVS AVGG. Female figure standing to left, feeding a serpent, which is entwined round an altar, holding *patera*, and a rudder placed on a globe. Æ. III. 1. Unpublished.

5. *Obv.*—[IMP. C. TET]RICVS P. F. AVG. As No. 4.

Rev.—[VIRTVS] AVGG. Mars helmeted standing to left, leaning on a shield, and holding a spear. (Cohen, No. 119.) Æ. III. 1.

ALLECTUS.

6. *Obv.*—IMP. C. ALLECTVS P. F. AVG. Bust to the right, radiated, with cuirass.

Rev.—P[AX] AVG. Female figure standing to left, holding olive branch and sceptre. In the *field*, to left and right S. A. In the *exergue*, M. L. (*Moneta Londinio*). (Cohen, No. 33.) Æ. III. 1.

7. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

Rev.—Same legend and type. In *field*, to right and left. S. P. In the *exergue*, C (*Camuloduno*). (Cohen, No. 33.) Large module. Æ. III. 1.

8. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

Rev.—VIRTVS AVG. Vessel with sails, with and without rowers. In *exergue*, Q. L. (*Quarta Londinio*). (Cohen, No. 62.) Æ. III. 2.

CONSTANTIUS I. CHLORUS.

9. *Obv.*—CONSTANTIVS NOB. CAES. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Genius turreted, half-naked, standing to left, holding a *patera* and cornu-copiae. In the *field*, to left and right, B. F. In the *exergue*, TR. (*Treviris*). (Cohen, No. 138.) Æ. II. 1.

10. *Obv.*—DIVO CONSTANTIO PIO. Bust to the right, veiled and laureated, with cuirass.

Rev.—MEMORIA FELIX. Burning altar, adorned with garlands; on either side an eagle. In *exergue*, P. TR. (*Prima Treviris*). (Cohen, No. 184.) Æ. II. 1.

CONSTANTINE I.

11. *Obv.*—[IMP. C]ONSTANTINVS AVG. Head to the right, laureated, with cuirass.

Rev.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. The sun, radiated, standing to left, raising right hand, and holding a globe. In *field*, to left and right, T. F. In the *exergue*, P. TR. (*Prima Treviris*). (Cohen, No. 470.) Æ. III. 1.

12. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

Rev.—Same legend and type. In the *field*, to left and right C. S. In the *exergue*, Q. ARL. (*Quarta Arelato*). (Cohen, No. 470.) Æ. III. 1.

CONSTANTINUS, Junr.,

13. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS IVN. N. C. Bust to the left, radiated, with cuirass.

Rev.—BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. An altar, on which is a globe, above which three stars; on the altar, VOTIS XX. In the *field*, to left and right, P. A. In the *exergue*, P. LON. (*Prima Londinio*). (Cohen, No. 80.) Æ. III. 1.

CONSTANTIUS II.

14. *Obv.*—CONSTANTIUS P. F. AVG. Bust to the right, with diadem, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers, helmeted, facing each other, and each holding a spear, and leaning upon their shields; between them a standard, on the top of which is a flag, inscribed with the letter M. In the *exergue*, TR.S. (*Treviris prima*). Æ. III. 1.

15. *Obv.*—As No. 14; behind the head the letter A.

Rev.—FFT (*sic*) TEMP. REPARATIO. The Emperor standing to the left on a vessel, holding Victory and labarum; behind, on the vessel, Victory seated, holding a rudder. (Cf. Cohen, No. 213.) Æ. II. 1.

16. *Obv.*—A barbarous coin with same obverse, excepting the letter A, and with the same reverse legend. The type, an emperor dragging a captive. In *exergue*, CON. (*Constantina*). Æ. III. 1.

MAGNENTIUS.

17. *Obv.*—D. N. MAGNENTIUS P. F. AVG. Bust to the right, bare, with *paludamentum* and cuirass; behind, the letter A.

Rev.—GLORIA ROMANORVM. The Emperor on horseback to the right, about to spear a suppliant captive; beneath the horse a broken spear and shield. In the *exergue*, TR. P. (*Treviris prima*). Æ. II. 1.

VALENTINIANUS I.

18. *Obv.*—D. N. VALENTINIANVS P. F. AVG. Bust to the right, with diadem, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE. Victory walking to the left, holding a crown and palm. In the *field*, to left and right, OF. I. (*Officina* I.). In the *exergue*, CONST. (*Constantina - Arles*). (Cohen, No. 55.) Æ. III. 1.

19. A leaden reverse of the Vandal period. 1.

20. An uncertain piece, with apparently a B on either side. 1.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

	Æ. I.	Æ. II.	Æ. III.
Antoninus Pius	1	—	—
Victorinus	—	—	2
Tetricus I.	—	—	3
Allectus	—	—	4
Constantius I. Chlorus	—	2	—
Constantine I.	—	—	2
Constantine, Junr.	—	—	1
Constantius II.	—	1	2
Magnentius	—	1	—
Valentinian I.	—	—	1
Leaden piece	—	—	1
Uncertain	—	—	1
	1	4	17

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

FIND OF COINS NEAR SIDON.—We extract the following as giving an apparently truthful account of the discovery of a large number of coins near Sidon, and as illustrative of the numismatic knowledge of the author, who, in the head of Pallas, recognises that of Alexander the Great, and is pleased to find Phillip II. under the guise of Apollo, or the youthful Hercules :—

“About three years ago, some workmen, digging over the ground of this garden on our left, in our good city of Sidon, found several copper pots which contained a large quantity of ancient gold coins. The poor fellows concealed the discovery with the greatest care; but they were wild with excitement, and, besides, there were too many of them to keep such a secret. The governor of the city heard of it, apprehended all who had not fled, and compelled them to disgorge. He recovered two of the pots, placed them beside him, and required them to refill them with coin. In this way he obtained between two and three thousand; but it is certain that there remained hundreds, if not thousands, which he could not get. The French consul told me that the whole number was over eight thousand. They are all coins of Alexander and his father Philip, of the most pure gold, each one worth a little more than an English sovereign. As there is no mixture of coins later than Alexander, the deposit must have been made during his reign, or immediately after. I suspect it was royal treasure, which one of Alexander's officers concealed when he heard of his unexpected death in Babylon, intending to appropriate it to himself, but being apprehended, slain, or driven away by some of the revolutions

which followed that event, the coin remained where he had hid it. If we remember how much more valuable gold was then than now, the amount of this deposit will surprise us; nor does it seem likely that any private man in Sidon could have gathered what was, probably, at that time equivalent to forty thousand pounds, and all of this particular coin of Philip and Alexander. The latter appears as he is usually figured, and his face is too familiar to need explanation. Philip I had not seen before, and was particularly pleased to find him associated with the chariot and horses, of which he was so proud and so vain."—From "The Land and the Book," by Dr. W. M. Thomson, an American Missionary in Syria and Palestine, p. 134.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.

SIR,—I am endeavouring to make as perfect as possible a list of coins of the STAMFORD MINT, in use from the time of Edgar to Henry II. inclusive. Several leading numismatists have kindly aided me with descriptions of coins of this mint in their cabinets; through the courtesy of Mr. Vaux, I have been enabled to examine and particularise all the Stamford coins in the British Museum collection; Mr. Webster, of Great Russell Street, has kindly contributed all the information upon the subject which his long experience and minute record have qualified him to give; and I have extracted from Hildebrand's ample catalogue the numerous descriptions of Stamford coins which it contains.

Still, there are many coins of this mint (some perhaps, of unique types, or unknown moneyers) in private hands, and inaccessible to me directly. I shall feel exceedingly obliged if the owners of any such coins will forward to me their exact description, referring me to their types in Ruding or Hawkins, and giving particularly the legends of obverse and reverse, with any peculiarities of lettering or markings. For example, from my own collection:—

"Eadweard II.—Martyr.

"Type:—Ruding, pl. 21, no. 3; Hawkins, 202.

"Obv.+EADWARD REX ANGL—

"Rev.+ESELMA M-O STANF."

Coins of Wm. I. and II. which have for town's name, "BVRD" (or its variations), for Peterboro', are connected with this mint, and I shall be glad to receive descriptions of such coins also.

Yours, &c.,

SAMUEL SHARP.

Dallington Hall, near Northampton, March, 1865.

IX.

ON AN UNPUBLISHED TETRADRACHM OF LYSIMACHUS, PROBABLY STRUCK AT BYZANTIUM, READING ΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΟ,


WITH REMARKS ON THIS FORM OF THE GENITIVE ;
TOGETHER WITH A BRIEF NOTICE OF OTHER UNPUBLISHED
COINS OF LYSIMACHUS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET ; AND OF
A GOLD OCTODRACHM OF ARSINOE STRUCK AT TYRE.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., F.L.S.

(Read before the Numismatic Society, December 15, 1864.)

THE coin about to be described is remarkable, as being one of the latest clear examples which exhibit the termination of the genitive in O in place of OY ; and on that account may deserve a special notice.

Obv.—Head of Alexander (?) with ram's horn, as usual to right.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ] ΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΟ in parallel lines, the omicron being smaller than the other letters. Pallas Nicephorus as usual ; monogram,  immediately in front of her right knee. No letter on the throne ; and nothing visible on the exergue, whic his, however, partly off the coin. *Æ.* 8 ; weight, 263 grains.

Apart from the peculiarity of the legend, this coin deserves notice as not occurring in L. Müller's valuable work entitled "Münzen des Lysimachus" (Copenhagen, 1858), and I have therefore presumed it to be unpublished. The fabric, without being barbarous, is not fine when compared with the better pieces of money

issued by this king. The obverse is very similar to the coin figured on pl. ii., No. 5, of Müller, which is struck at Byzantium, and I think that there is very little doubt that our present coin was struck there also, as the monogram reads IIY. The whole of the broad base of the throne is visible, and certainly never had any letter or symbol upon it. About the exergue it is not so easy to speak positively; but I think that a better spread specimen would show that it also was plain. Tetradrachms of Alexander, struck at Byzantium, likewise read IIY in monogram (though differing in form from the monogram on this coin), and have no other symbol or letters in addition to the legend.

About the form of the genitive a few words shall be added. Our information is derived principally from the regal series, especially the Macedonian. On the coins of the early kings of Macedonia¹ the form in O is always, so far as I know, employed in the genitive instead of OY. Thus Alexander I., Archelaus, Aëropus, and Alexander II.,² have left coins reading ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ, ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ, ΑΕΡΟΠΟ. On the money of Philip II. the termination OY appears, for the first time, so far as I

¹ A king named Amadocus, who reigned about 390 B.C., in Thrace, is said by Sestini to have left coins with the legend ΑΜΑΔΟΚΟ. This is quite probable; but he assigns other coins with the legend ΑΜΑΔΟΚΟΥ to the same king. I suspect that they belong to a later Amadocus. (See Smith's *Dict., Gr. and Rom. Biogr.* s.v.)

² The remark is made on the authority of Sestini (*Class. Gen.* p. 39), who gives no other legend. Mionnet (vol. i. p. 509), indeed, refers to a coin attributed to this king, reading ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. It is figured by Dumersan in his catalogue of M. Allier's collection (pl. v. fig. 4). But a more authentic coin, ascribed by M. Dumersan to the same king (pl. v. fig. 3), has ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ. I now see that M. Müller (*Num. d'Alex.*, p. 20) ascribes the former coin to Alexander the Great. See also his valuable note at p. 23.

am aware. The other form now becomes extremely rare, and I have no recollection of having ever seen or read of more than one coin which clearly reads ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ.³ It is a gold stater, preserved in the British Museum, and has the same symbol as No. 301 of L. Müller's catalogue of Philip II.'s coins, which he classes among the uncertain.

His son and successor, Alexander the Great, has left an immense multitude of coins; and these, with very few exceptions, read ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; but at the same time we do find lingering traces of the form ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ. Thus in the Thomas collection Mr. Burgon notes that a gold stater of Alexander with a griffin in the field (probably struck at Abdera or at Teos) reads "ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ, *sic.*," and I have lately seen a specimen with the same symbol, recently sent over from Greece, which bears every appearance of having the same legend; though I could not affirm quite positively that the Υ might not be off the coin. Mionnet likewise mentions a silver tetradrachm reading ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ, which he (Suppl. vol. iii. p. 207) assigns to Pitane, in Mysia, but which Müller (No. 378) attributes to Thrace.⁴ I have seen a gold coin with the same symbol, where the Υ was likewise not visible, but which I also suspect might have appeared on a more fully spread specimen. A very clear and undoubted example of this legend is figured by M. Müller (*Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, tab. ii. n. 12. Copenhagen,

³ Mionnet, indeed (Suppl. vol. iii., p. 186), mentions a gold stater of *barbarous* fabric, reading ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ. See also vol. i., p. 511 and p. 515. But little can be inferred from such coins, except, perhaps, that the genitive in Ο survived somewhat longer among barbarous tribes than elsewhere.

⁴ He likewise refers (Suppl. vol. iii., p. 199) to Neumann for a coin reading . . . ΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ; but it is possible that the Υ may have been off the coin. See his figure.

1855) on a coin of Alexander, struck at Odessus; which is so much the more fortunate as it appears to have been struck some time after the death of Alexander.⁵ I have not seen any later regal coin of Macedonia or Thrace where the genitive ends in O, with the single exception of the coin above described, which is as clear and undoubted an authority as can be desired. No coin of Lysimachus in the British Museum has such a legend.⁶

Little need be said of the older form on the civic coins. An early coin of Metapontum has AXEAOIO AΘAON, *i.e.* Ἀχελῷον ἄθλον (see Millingen, "Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings," pl. 1, No. 21, Lond., 1831; and Leake's "Num. Hell. Italy," p. 128). Millingen may be right in thinking that a coin of Cnidus reads EOBΩAO (*i.e.* Εὐβοῖλον), but it is evident from his figure, (pl. v., No. 16, of the same work), and from an impression of the coin now before me, that Σ or Υ may be off the coin. A few coins of Abdera exhibit magistrates' names ending in O in the genitive, *e.g.*, EIII MEAANIHHO; and besides

⁵ Since this paper was written I have examined all the coins of Alexander in the British Museum and in Colonel Leake's collection, and some others also. Some few specimens look as though they may have read AAEEANΔPO, but I can refer to none with confidence.

⁶ Sestini (*Class. Gen.*, p. 42) assigns a coin to Demetrius, tyrant of Illyricum, about 220 B.C.?, which reads ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟ. He does not describe the type, and Mionnet had never seen it. He also (*Ibid.*, p. 35) mentions a coin of Cotys III. and Sadales II. of Thrace, who reigned about 60 B.C., which is said to read ΣΑΔΑΛΟ. But on the coins of Sadales only the legend is ΣΑΔΑΛΟΥ. It is probable, therefore, that the Υ is "off" the former coin. I much doubt whether ΣΑΔΑΛΗΣ would form ΣΑΔΑΛΟ at all. Seuthes, the Satrap, contemporary of Xenophon, has ΣΕΥΘΑ ΑΡΤΥΠΙΟΝ on his coins (*De Luynes, Num. des. Satr.*, t. vi.); another Seuthes, who reigned just before Lysimachus, struck money with the legend ΣΕΥΘΟΥ (Sestini, *Class. Gen.*, 34).

these we have a magistrate's name sometimes reading ΠΥΛΛΟ on a copper coin of Arpi; on other specimens ΠΥΛΛΟΥ occurs. Sambon thinks the bronze money of Arpi ranges from B.C. 400 to B.C. 212;⁷ and we may perhaps reasonably be of opinion that no civic coin exhibits the O form of the genitive after the time of Alexander; but the dates of these coins are less certain.

The series of coins of the satraps of Caria throws some light on our present inquiry. On the coins of Maussolus, B.C. 377—353, the genitive appears always to end in O, and the legend is constantly ΜΑΥΣΣΟΛΛΟ, or, according to Sestini, ΜΑΥΣΣΟΛΟ. Pixodarus, however, who reigned B.C. 340—335, has both ΠΙΞΟΔΑΡΟ and ΠΙΞΟΔΑΡΟΥ, thus showing, as Colonel Leake observes (*Num. Hell. As.* p. 64), "the exact time when, at Halicarnassus, ΟΥ superseded O in the second case of nouns in ΟΣ." Strictly speaking, the O was not superseded; for on the only coin of his successor, Othontopates (B.C. 335—334), which is mentioned by Mionnet, the legend is ΟΘΟΝΤΟΠΑΤΟ.

With regard to the later series of regal coins, European, Asiatic, and Egyptian, I am not aware that any clear instance of the form in O can be quoted from them as a proof that it was in use after the time of Alexander.⁸

⁷ *Monn. Anc. de l'Ital. Mérid.*, p. 240, Napl. 1863.

⁸ Leake (*Num. Hell. Kings*, p. 17) gives ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟ, as the legend of Alexander I., King of Epirus (B.C. 342—325); but an inspection of the electrotpe will convince any one that a vestige yet remains of the final Υ. In Smith's *Dict., Gr., and Rom. Biogr.* (vol. i., p. 1032) a coin of Dionysius, tyrant of Heraclea (B.C. 338—306), is figured, which reads ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟ, as it would appear. Sestini, however, and Mionnet, acknowledge no other legend than ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ. I have endeavoured in this paper to refer as far as possible to coins which I have myself seen.

Perhaps I should mention here that a coin of Apollonia in Illyricum, belonging to Mr. Merlin, was sold in November, 1861, which is now in Mr. Bunbury's collection, the legend of the reverse of which is thus described by Mr. Langdon, Sen., who drew up the catalogue: "*Rev.* ΑΠΟΛ. ΤΙΜΗΝΑΝΔΡΟ." He proceeds to observe: "This coin is curious as presenting an example of the old form of the genitive case at apparently a later period than we should expect to meet with it." The coins of Apollonia are probably of the first and second centuries B.C., and as it is evident to every one who sees the coin itself that the legend is complete, I had long supposed with my friend Mr. Langdon that we had here a veritable example of this old form in a late coin. But there is very little doubt that ΤΙΜΗΝ is the nominative of a proper name; and ΑΝΔΡΟ is the abbreviation of another proper name, perhaps of ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΟΣ; and the coin is so described by Colonel Leake (*Num. Hell. Eur.* p. 15). ΤΙΜΗΝ and ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΟΣ occur separately on other coins of Apollonia.

Upon the whole we arrive at an approximate conclusion respecting the dates of these forms of the genitive on coins. The form in ΟΥ would appear to be but little older⁹ than

⁹ This consideration leads me to think that Patraus and Lyceus, dynasts of Pæonia, are little, if at all, earlier than Philip II. It would scarcely be in place to enter here into the question of inscriptions; but the following note of Böckh, on n. 159 (from Athens) of his *Corp. Inscr.* (vol. i., p. 259), may be worth quoting:—"Ex scripturæ forma maxime quod diphthongus ΟΥ, uno loco excepto" (*i. e.* χρυσος for χρυσους, *nom. masc.*) "plene scribitur, aliquot id Olympiadibus centesima" (= B.C. 377) "recentius esse collegeris." In other words, Böckh considers that ΟΥ came into the place of Ο in Attic inscriptions during the reign of Philip. He places the inscription named in Olymp. 111, 2, (= B.C. 335); it manifestly belongs to the transitional period. Coins and inscriptions, therefore, lead to much the same result.

the time of Philip II. of Macedon, B.C. 359—336. In his time, however, it was the most general form, in Europe at all events; while the other form existed also, and seems to have predominated in Caria. From the time of Alexander downwards the O form was almost superseded by OY, both in Europe and Asia; but vestiges of the former are still to be discovered in Alexander's time, and even, though very rarely, a little later still.

This paper shall be concluded by a brief enumeration of a few coins of Lysimachus in my cabinet which are not contained in Müller's work, though all except the first differ but slightly from some which he has described.

GOLD STATER.

1. Usual types and legend, of good work; having in the field of the reverse the letters ΦΩ. Size 4. Weight, 128 grains.

Stated to have been found in Bulgaria; from M. Huber's collection, whence it passed to Mr. Brett's. Nothing seems more probable than Mr. Curt's attribution to Phocæa in Ionia (Huber's *Sale Catalogue*, lot 181). A tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, on which the letters ΦΩ occur, is referred by M. Müller to Phocæa (No. 988). No coins of Lysimachus are mentioned by Müller as belonging to Phocæa; though there are many struck at Ephesus and at Erythræ, and a few in other places in Ionia.

SILVER.

(Types as before.)

2. Tetradrachm. Two monograms in the field of reverse
Fine work.

Resembling Müller, No. 541, but slightly different if his

drawing be quite correct.¹⁰ The line at right angles to the stem of the χ only touches the left side of the Π ; and the Λ in the other monogram comes down lower than the Π . Probably struck in Thrace, to judge by the fabric, but this is uncertain.

3. Tetradrachm of good work. A turreted head (the Amazon Smyrna?) with two battlements only to left, in front of the knee of Pallas; on either side of the neck an object appears similar to a dagger; on the other side of $\Delta\Upsilon\Sigma\text{IHAXOY}$ is a Φ . Struck at Smyrna.

Only a single coin of Lysimachus is given by Müller (No. 405) as struck at Smyrna; the same symbol and letter are given there also, but the head is differently formed, having three turrets, and no notice is taken of the objects on the side of the neck in the figure or description. Curiously enough there is the same variation, as respects the objects, in the coins of Anthemusia in Mesopotamia. The turreted head sometimes appears without any adjunct, sometimes with two, which Mionnet considers to be "*deux épis parallèles couchés.*" A coin of each form lately came into my possession, and I can hardly think that they are ears of corn; they seem rather to be weapons.¹¹ Various coins of Alexander the Great are struck at Smyrna (Nos. 991—994 of Müller), but these also have the turreted head without the adjuncts, to judge

¹⁰ It becomes necessary to make this remark, as I now find that a Rhodian coin of Alexander, which I have described in this Chronicle as new, is the same as his 1159. I am indebted to Mr. Bunbury for kindly pointing this out to me. It appears that Müller's figure is taken from a coin in the British Museum, and this is substantially the same as mine. The figure, however, is different.

¹¹ This leads me to suppose that the Amazon Smyrna rather than Sipylene is represented.

by his figure. At first I supposed that this coin of Lysimachus had a spear-head in the field near the feet of Pallas; and indeed it cannot properly belong to the spear of which the upper end is visible; but I now incline to think that the engraving, otherwise very good, is here faulty.

4. Drachm. Tripod in the field of reverse: the letter Φ on the throne. Struck at Philippi.

From Mr. Roger's collection. The same as Müller (No. 335); but his has no Φ on the throne; it may possibly have been obliterated. He mentions a tetradrachm (No. 334) whose adjuncts are precisely as in this drachm.

This may not be an inappropriate place to describe a gold octodrachm of Arsinoë, who was the wife of Lysimachus before she married Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Obv.—Veiled head to right, as usual, no letter behind.

Rev.—Two horns of abundance united below into one stem, with fruit and fillets as usual; but to the left of the stem the letters $\Delta\Delta$; to the right of it the monogram of Tyre Ψ and Θ below. Legend as usual, $\text{AP}\Sigma\text{INOH}\Sigma\Phi\text{I}\Delta\Delta\text{E}\Lambda\Phi\text{OY}$, but the last two letters are nearly obliterated by filing.
N. Size, 7; present weight, 424 grains.

Formerly in Salzmann's collection, then in Huber's, now in mine.

A coin formerly in the Thomas collection (Lot 2712), weighing 428 grains, now in the British Museum, is from a different die on both sides, and has moreover Δ in place of $\Delta\Delta$. These may be dates, viz., 4 and 34 respectively.¹² The monogram of Tyre is also considerably larger and

¹² They are considered as such by Mr. Poole, see p. 146 of this volume; the coins to which he tacitly refers being the British Museum specimen and my own.

much more distinct, but mine is, I believe, of exactly the same form, though the loop of the P in TYP is now so obscure, that one may be doubtful if it ever existed. The © in my specimen below the monogram is also faint, but clearly traceable; this letter, whatever be its meaning, occurs also on a tetradrachm of Ptolemy, in my cabinet, struck at Tyre, having the same monogram as well as the club, and the date Λ , 30, besides another monogram. My specimen has suffered somewhat by circulation and by filing and scratching; the Museum specimen is much finer, but some knave in ancient or modern times has cut a small slice of gold from the obverse, and, what is much worse, from the reverse also. Yet probably no letter or adjunct has been carried away; the Δ lies between the fillet and the stem; the $\Lambda\Delta$ in my coin is in the same position, and there is just enough of the original surface on the other side of the fillet in the Museum specimen to lead me to think that no letter was ever there.

I understand from my friend Mr. Reichardt, that his cabinet contains a coin similar to my own, which possesses unusual interest, because it indicates the place of mintage of one of these splendid gold pieces. Mionnet does not mention any octodrachm of Arsinoë which bears the monogram of Tyre. Others of the Ptolemies struck coins there both in gold and also in silver.

CHURCHILL BABINGTON.

X.

REMARKS IN REPLY TO THE NEW
OBSERVATIONS ON "JEWISH NUMISMATICS"
BY M. F. DE SAULCY,

A PROPOS OF THE WORK ENTITLED "HISTORY OF JEWISH COINAGE
AND MONEY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT."¹

It is with some feeling of regret that I feel myself forced to make some reply to the strictures of M. de Saulcy on the various attributions of the Jewish coins preserved in different Museums and in private collections. Without doubt M. de Saulcy was the first who caused this neglected branch in coin history to be carefully studied of late years, and furnished an inducement to numismatists to take an interest in Jewish coins; but M. de Saulcy, I think, cannot be congratulated on the manner in which he made use of the ample materials before him. Criticism, and very severe criticism, did his volume receive in Italy; in Germany no better fortune attended it; and in England,

¹ *Revue Numismatique*, 1864, p. 370, *seq.*; 1865, p. 29, *seq.* It may be as well also to mention that M. de Saulcy made some similar observations *à propos* of Sig. Cavedoni's memoir, "Appendice alla Numismatica Biblica" (Modena, 1855), in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1857, p. 280, in which he concludes by expressing his conviction that Sig. Cavedoni would change his views on many points which appeared evident to him when writing his "Appendix." It does not, however, appear that either Sig. Cavedoni or any other numismatists have altered their opinions on the main points at issue.

those few numismatists who had ventured to consider the subject, though some were at first attracted by his new attributions; rejected entirely nearly all his theories.

It is not then surprising that we now find him a little bitter against his fellow-labourers, but at the same time it is next to impossible to understand why it is that he, and he alone, will still persist in maintaining attributions refuted by everybody. To quote the statement of a well-known writer² on this subject: "Thus, whilst De Saulcy in 1857 declared that he adhered more firmly than ever to his new classification, and that there was no one, with the exception of my unfortunate self, who had not yielded assent to his novel distribution of these monuments, the flower of the learned numismatists of Germany, England, Spain, and Italy, namely, Levy,³ Reichardt,⁴ Mommsen,⁵ Ewald,⁶ Poole,⁷ Madden,⁸ Queipo,⁹ and Gar-

² Celestino Cavedoni, "Le principali Questioni riguardanti la Numismatica Giudaica diffinitivamente decise," published in the *Opuscoli Religiosi, Letterari e Morali*, vol. v., Series ii. Modena, 1865.

³ "Geschichte der Jüdischen Münzen." "But this collector himself (De Saulcy) seems to have been so completely dazzled by excessive abundance, that he has *erred entirely from the truth* in taking away from Simon the Maccabee all the coins which had hitherto been ascribed to him, and in giving them to Jaddua, high-priest at the time of Alexander the Great" (p. 113).

⁴ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iv. p. 174.

⁵ "Geschichte der Römischen Münzen." Though Mommsen quotes De Saulcy's work for weights, &c., he *entirely ignores* his attribution (p. 717).

⁶ See the Introduction in "History of Jewish Coinage."

⁷ Art. "Money," in Dr. Smith's "Dict. of the Bible."

⁸ "History of Jewish Coinage and of Money in Old and New Testaments;" Art. "Money," in "Kitto's Bibl. Cyclopædia," new ed.

⁹ "Essai sur les Systèmes Métriques et Monétaires." "Mais tout en avouant notre incompetence sur ces matières, nous craignons que M. de Saulcy, en voulant résoudre la difficulté

rucci,¹⁰ supported the classification of Bayer and Eckhel, followed and defended by me. The specious innovation of the French academician dazzled for a period of ten years those who were ill-informed, or those who were his partisans; but now that the work of Madden has been published and well-considered, it must of necessity fall to the ground. So true is the sentence of Tully, that *opinionum commenta delet dies.*"

que présente la classification des siècles Hébreux d'après Bayer, *n'ait fait que la déplacer*" (vol i. p. 546). In a letter to Sig. Cavedoni, M. Queipo writes, "M. de Saulcy, avec lequel j'en l'honneur de causer sur cette matière, reconnait lui-même que *son opinion n'est qu'une simple hypothèse.*" (Cavedoni, "Nuovi Studi," etc., p. 4, *note*.)

¹⁰ "Vetri Cimiteriali." In the first edition of this work Sig. Garrucci says, "I agree with Cavedoni, and not with De Saulcy's new classification" (p. 16). In his second edition he says in place of this (p. 48), "I cannot follow the new classification of De Saulcy, which attributes the coins of the fourth year of the Liberation of Israel, with a cedar between two *lulab*, or else with a *lulab* between two cedars, to the high-priest Jaddua, neither can I agree with the classification which assigns them to the fourth year of Simon; for which I give as a reason the enormous difference of the palæography and of the manner of marking the year—not by a sign, as in the first, second, and third years, but at length." This objection, as regards these copper coins *only*, is of no value, and as Cavedoni ("Principali Questioni," &c., p. 6, *note*) shows, Garrucci is not sufficiently exact in putting "Liberation" instead of "Redemption," and the "enormous difference of the palæography" consists mainly in the form of the *Scin*, which on the smaller copper coins is sometimes angular (W), and sometimes rounded (Ⓦ), this latter form also occurring on the coins of John Hyrcanus ("Hist. of Jewish Coinage," p. 58). Cavedoni (*l. c.*) further says, "In the shekels of the years I., II., III., and IV., the years are marked by sign by reason of the restricted space of the area, and in the copper coins, where the engraver had the whole of the space round the type, he marked at full length the 'fourth year.' In like manner, in the coins of the two revolts of the Jews, the years are contemporaneously marked sometimes in cipher, sometimes at full length, according as the engraver had more or less space at his disposal."

De Saulcy has written two papers, the first embracing the Jewish coinage from its earliest issue to the colonial coins struck at Jerusalem; the second containing a thorough examination of the new attributions and suggestions of Dr. Levy, of Breslau. It is much to be regretted that De Saulcy concludes the former as follows: —“En résumé, vous voyez que la science des monnaies Judaïques a progressé. Elle progressera encore, n'en doutons pas, lorsque les numismatistes que s'en occupent regarderont comme peu dignes d'eux les critiques malveillantes, et mettront leur amour-propre de côté, pour servir leurs efforts à l'avancement de la science, et non à leur gloriole personnelle.” The second paper is very different, and well worthy the attention of numismatists.

With these brief remarks I pass on to the examination of the observations of De Saulcy.

SHEKELS AND HALF-SHEKELS.

M. de Saulcy holds more firmly than ever to his original idea, that these shekels and half-shekels were issued during the autonomy obtained by the high-priest Jaddua from Alexander the Great. He still considers that the metal, types, style, legends, and fabric are in flagrant opposition to their attribution to Simon Maccabæus, as there must be an interval of nearly two centuries between their emission and the paltry pieces of John Hyrcanus; hence the permission granted to Simon by Antiochus has not the slightest value in his eyes. Moreover, he is at a loss to understand how it is that John Hyrcanus only struck minute copper pieces, and *with his name*, whilst Simon only issued silver *without his name*; he, to whom permission had been granted to strike money in his own name (*percussuram proprii numismatis*); and also how it

is that no Jewish high-priest thought it right to copy the system created by the first sovereign Jew who enjoyed the right of coining?

Another argument adduced by De Saulcy in favour of his theory is the following:—In 140 Simon received permission to strike coins. His reign ended in 135. He could then exercise this new right during five years. The coins that many persist in attributing to him only represent four years, of which four years there are silver pieces; but suddenly, in the fourth year, the silver pieces give place to a copper coinage. "What is the cause," says De Saulcy, "which occasioned the change in the monetary system? We know nothing of it. Where are the pieces of the fifth year of Simon? We do not possess them."

Finally, De Saulcy lays the following suggestion before us. "It would be extremely interesting to discover the origin of the *לְבַנְיָה צִיּוֹן* that occurs exclusively on the copper coins of the year 4. I leave to those who have the privilege of explaining everything, the trouble of finding in the history of Simon for the year 136, the circumstances which could have suggested the adoption and employment of this legend."

Apart from these arguments, De Saulcy has drawn up a comparative table of alphabets of the Jewish coins, leaving the reader to form his own opinion whether the characters on the shekels and half-shekels are not much earlier than those on the coins of Hyrcanus and his successors.

These remarks require a reply. To De Saulcy's objection as regards metal, style, legends, fabric, and palæography, I cannot do better than quote the words of a numismatist who has paid much attention to the study of

ancient coins. Mr. Poole, in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible,"¹¹ says, "The fabric of the silver coins is so different from that of any other ancient money, that it is extremely hard to base any argument on it alone, and the cases of other special classes, as the ancient money of Cyprus, show the danger of such reasoning. Some have been disposed to consider that it proves that these coins cannot be later than the time of Nehemiah, others will not admit it to be later than Alexander's time, while some still hold that it is not too archaic for the Maccabæan period. Against it being assigned to the earlier dates we may remark that the forms are too exact, and that apart from style, which we do not exclude in considering fabric, the mere mechanical work is like that of the coins of the Phœnician towns, struck under the Seleucidæ. The decisive evidence, however, is to be found by a comparison of the copper coins which cannot be doubted to complete the series. These, though in some cases of a similar style to the silver coins, are generally far more like the undoubted pieces of the Maccabees.

"The inscription of these coins, and all the other Hebrew inscriptions of Jewish coins, are in a character of which there are few examples. As Gesenius has observed (*Gram.* § 5), it bears a strong resemblance to the Samaritan and Phœnician, and we may add, to the Aramæan of coins, which must be carefully distinguished from the Aramæan of the papyri found in Egypt.¹² The use of this character does not afford any positive evidence as to age; but it is important to notice that although it is found

¹¹ Art. "Money," vol. ii. p. 409; cf. Art. "Money," "Kitto's Biblical Cyclopædia," new edition, vol. iii. p. 201.

¹² "See Mr. Waddington's paper on the so-called satrap coins. (*Mélange de Numismatique.*)"

upon the Maccabæan coins, there is no palæographic reason why the pieces of doubtful time bearing it should not be as early as the Persian period.”

Now here it may be observed that M. de Saulcy has omitted to notice in his list of objections the *most important* reason of numismatists for assigning these pieces to Simon, namely, the *weight*. Let us quote again from the same article :—“ M. de Saulcy, struck by the ancient appearance of the silver coins, and disregarding in difference the style of the copper, has conjectured that the whole class was struck at some early period of prosperity. He fixes upon the pontificate of Jaddua, and supposes them to have been first issued when Alexander granted great privileges to the Jews. If it be admitted that this was an occasion from which an era might be reckoned, there is a serious difficulty in the style of the copper coins ; and those who have practically studied the subject of the fabric of coins will admit that though archaic style may be long preserved, there can be no mistake as to late style, the earlier limits of which are far more rigorously fixed than the later limits of archaic style. But there is another difficulty of even a graver nature. Alexander, who was essentially a practical genius, suppressed all the varying weights of money in his empire excepting the Attic, which he made the lawful standard. Philip had struck his gold on the Attic weight, his silver on the Macedonian. Alexander even changed his native currency in carrying out this great commercial reform, of which the importance has never been recognised. Is it likely that he would have allowed a new currency to have been issued by Jaddua on a system different from the Attic ? If it be urged that this was a sacred coinage for the tribute, and that, therefore, an exception may have

been made, it must be recollected that an excess of weight would not have been so serious a matter as a deficiency, and besides that it is by no means clear that the shekels follow a Jewish weight."

The silver shekel, which weighs 220 grains, gives a talent of 660,000 grains. This is the same as the Eginetan, which appears to be of Phœnician origin; for the Phœnician cities under the Persians used the identical standard for their coins. Both the Eginetan and Phœnician standards were disused under Alexander the Great, to whose time and authority, notwithstanding, M. de Saulcy, would assign the first Jewish shekels. It would not have been so strange had he attributed them to the time of Ptolemy I.,¹³ for his silver coins follow the same standard as those of the kings of Macedon to Philip II. inclusive, and are thus of full Eginetan weight.¹⁴ It will, therefore, be seen that M. de Saulcy has assigned these shekels and half-shekels to the *very period in which it is utterly impossible they could have been issued*. I cannot for my part see how this insuperable difficulty can in any way be replied to.

Besides these facts, surely the statements of Ewald and Cavedoni are of some value. The whole story of Jaddua in Josephus is very doubtful, and why should the coinage have only lasted *four* years and not till the death of

¹³ For Ptolemy I. treated the Jews with great toleration after he had carried them captive into Egypt, allowing those at Alexandria equal privileges with the Macedonians themselves; many Jews, indeed, even of their own accord going into Egypt, invited there by the liberality of Ptolemy (Joseph., *Antig.*, xii. 1); but there is no more reason to suppose that they were permitted then to coin money, than during their prosperity under Alexander the Great.

¹⁴ See the chapter on "Weights" in my "History of Jewish Coinage" — a chapter M. de Saulcy seems entirely to have ignored.

Alexander? It is useless here to repeat the arguments, as the reader will find them at full length in my *Introduction* and in the works of every other writer upon Jewish coins.¹⁵

De Saulcy's argument respecting the absence of Simon's name on the coins attributed to him does not seem to me of very great value. The *κόμμα ἰδίων νόμισμα* or *percussuram proprii numismatis* do not of necessity imply that the pieces coined were to have the name of the striker upon them, and its absence can be accounted for in many ways. One cannot suppose that De Saulcy has ever read Werlhof's preface to the second volume of his translation of Cavendish's *Numismatica Biblica*, or he would surely have mentioned that an attempt had been made to explain this apparent difficulty. Werlhof¹⁶ says, "that the name of Simon does not appear on these coins might be sufficiently explained from the fact that neither his position or rank were hereditary nor even primarily secular, or else from the fact that his unassuming nature might not have deemed it suitable in a theocratic state to put forward his name and rank as conspicuously as was done by the neighbour-

¹⁵ It must be remembered that, in accepting M. de Saulcy's theory, which is based upon a *fictitious historical account* of an historian whose accuracy may be often questioned—the pith of which account is, that Alexander allowed the Jews to live according to their own laws, nothing more—*genuine history* is entirely ignored, and no coins are given to the very Jewish prince to whom a special grant of coinage was allowed, Jerusalem being made by decrees "holy and free" (*Ἱερα καὶ ἑλευθέρα*; קדושה on the shekels, נאור on the copper coins), and the yoke of the heathen being taken away from Israel, the hill of the temple (or *Zion*, art. "Jerusalem," Dr. Smith's "Dict. of the Bible;" *ביתאור ציון* on the small copper coins) being made stronger, and the place of Simon's abode (1 Maccab., xiii. 52), Palestine attaining a degree of prosperity that it had not known for a long time.

¹⁶ "Biblische Numismatik," vol. ii., Preface, p. xxiv.

ing heathen kings, especially as the origin and date of the coins were marked upon them in a manner which was perfectly satisfactory for the time." We well know how much his successor Hyrcanus was under Greek influence, his theocratic state being a secondary point, his princely and worldly the first.

Respecting the dates of the issue of Simon's coinage I have a few words to say. Had De Saulcy read the note at p. 40 of my book, a note on which I expended a considerable amount of time, he would have seen that the idea that Simon had the right to strike coins for five years is quite erroneous, for I have there demonstratively proved that the coins just exactly answer to *four* years. Moreover, a suggestion is there also made why a copper coinage was introduced during the fourth year.

It cannot be denied that the style of the copper coins induces one at first to pause before believing that they are of the same age as the silver; but yet their issue in the fourth year after the silver shekel of the fourth year, as also their types and inscriptions, do not leave us any cause for much doubt. Even De Saulcy admits that the silver and copper belong to the same period. Respecting the reason of the employment of the legend לנאמל ציין on the copper coins of the fourth year, perhaps some numismatist will be able to offer a suggestion satisfactory to De Saulcy.¹⁷ [See, however, my *note* 15.]

¹⁷ To show how the views of all the numismatists whom I have quoted in my book, who have written upon the shekels and half-shekels, have been received in England, I here give extracts from two unbiassed reviews of my volume: "The French numismatist dismisses with an unceremonious and unreasoning flippancy the arguments by which his theory is controverted." (*Morning Post*, Sept. 28th, 1864.) "De Saulcy, an ingenious but rash and inaccurate scholar, contributed a great

JOHN HYRCANUS.

That John Hyrcanus was the first Jewish high-priest who issued the small copper pieces with his name is now admitted by De Saulcy; so that we pass on to the coins attributed to

JUDAS ARISTOBULUS.

The doubts expressed in his paper by De Saulcy respecting this classification, he has entirely repudiated later in the same paper, so that it is needless to make further comment.

ALEXANDER JANNÆUS AND ALEXANDRA.

Notwithstanding any hope that might have arisen respecting the definitive classification of the coin of Alexander Jannæus, it appears from the remarks of M. de Saulcy that the question is not yet satisfactorily settled. Let us briefly examine the facts.

It is certain, as observed by De Saulcy, that the coins of Jannæus form four groups. The first and second with the name of the high-priest, written יוחנן and יהונתן, the third and fourth with the double legend דומלך יהונתן and ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. It is also certain that these two latter groups belong to Alexander Jannæus. All the groups have been classified by Levy and Poole in the following manner :—

Levy.

1. B.C. 105—92. Coins simply pontifical.
2. „ 92—86. Bilingual coins.
3. „ 86—78. Coins purely pontifical and without the word דובר.

quantity of fresh examples, and admirable illustrations, and some questionable theories." (*Guardian*, Nov. 9th, 1864.) These statements, in any case, prove what independent readers think of the arguments *pro* and *con*.

Poole.

1. Bilingual coins.
2. Pontifical coins.

To the latter classification De Saulcy raises an apparent difficulty, namely, the law of the succession of types. He says, "The Queen Alexandra, who was so submissive to the Pharisees, struck bilingual coins identical in types and style with those of her husband Alexander. That the queen then who was such a friend of the Pharisees would have adopted the type, the employment of which on the part of her husband appeared to them an insult, and that after a lapse of eight years this type would have appeared without a shadow of a difficulty and without the least opposition; *à priori* it is difficult to admit, and yet we shall be obliged partly to accept the classification." He continues, "If all the coins of Jonathan, high-priest, belong to Alexander Jannæus, some of them are incontestably struck after the bilingual coinage with the flower and the anchor; but necessarily those with the star were issued to the last days of his reign. The coin of the Queen Alexandra proves this conclusively (*le prouve jusqu'à l'évidence*)."

M. de Saulcy then goes on to speak of the re-struck coins of Alexander Jannæus—from which I concluded in my book (p. 65) that Dr. Levy's suggestion about the three coinages is not correct, and that we must accept the arrangement given by Mr. Poole—and says that "if it is once established that the type with the Greek legend is re-struck with the pure Hebrew type, it is, on the contrary, the classification of Dr. Levy which receives a positive confirmation." This statement is vague, for though it is true that it confirms Levy's classification in part, as much as it corroborates Poole's in full, yet Levy, De

Sauley forgets, places also some pontifical coins previous, to the bilingual, a classification with which I do not agree.

De Sauley then gives what he considers a solution to the problem, by publishing and engraving a coin, which may be described as follows:—The piece is a Jonathan written יִנָּחִן; to right of the pontifical legend may be seen very clearly ΑΕΞΑ (ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ), and on the body of the coin the Hebrew letters of the legend of Jonathan, and traces of the circle, in the centre of which was the anchor of the Seleucidæ. On the reverse, under the two cornucopiæ, may be seen the petals of the flower. "*Donc cette fois plus d'incertitude*," says De Sauley, "it is here clearly established that the pontifical group with the name יִנָּחִן was re-struck on the bilingual pieces with the flower." I cannot say that this is any news, for the Museum possesses several of these pieces, and Poole's classification was formed from them.¹⁸ De Sauley, then, assuming for certain that some bilingual coins were struck to the end of the reign of Jannæus, *on the authority of the coins of Alexandra*, thus forms his own classification:—1. Alexander Jannæus struck pontifical coins with the name יְהוֹנָתָן, or, what is perhaps more probable, he followed the example of John Hyrcanus, and issued bilingual coins with the flower. 2. He re-struck these coins when withdrawing them from circulation, and applied to them the pure pontifical type with the name יִנָּחִן; and perhaps the pontifical type with the form יְהוֹנָתָן is contemporary, for both kinds of bilingual coins have constantly this form. 3. Lastly he issued, after having made peace with the Pharisees, the royal bilingual coins with the star.

¹⁸ R. S. Poole, Art. "Money," Dr. Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. ii. p. 412; F. W. Madden, "History of Jewish Coinage," p. 65.

It will then be seen that the whole of De Saulcy's objections arise from the coin of Alexandra—the only piece known of this queen—first published by him; “everybody,” he says, “agrees as to its attribution.”

But what will M. de Saulcy say if I assert that the coin of the Queen Alexandra is a myth, and that it does not even exist?¹⁹ It was never more than a probable attribution, and when large classifications are based upon such frail framework it becomes necessary to re-examine that framework. This I have done, and I have come to the conclusion that the coin attributed to Alexandra is not in sufficiently good preservation to warrant our forming any numismatic classification upon it. All that remains of the Greek legend (for the Hebrew has disappeared, save perhaps a η) is ΞΑΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΨ(?). Now this may just as well be ΒΑΣΙΛΕ with the remaining letters ΩΣ invisible from the bad preservation of the piece. Indeed, I think I should not be far wrong if I asserted after comparing these letters, as I have done, with those on indubitable coins of Jannæus, that the coin is positively one of Alexander. The ΑΙΣ is

¹⁹ I have, however, been informed by M. de Saulcy of the following fact:—“ Dans un farrage de monnaies antiques que viend de m'arriver de Jérusalem, j'ai eu la bonne fortune de trouver un P. B. d'Alexandra portant de deux côtés l'ancre des Seleucides et la légende ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΑΤΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ; c'est une très jolie inédite; mais elle est malheureusement en *bien mauvais état de conservation*.” I have written to him to ask if it is possible for me to see the coin, either by the hands of one of his friends visiting England or of M. Feuardent, but I have till now received no reply. The dreadful state of preservation in which it appears to be, added to the form of ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ, and the occurrence of the square and lunar *sigma* at the same time, makes me pause before—without seeing—I accept this coin as a veritable Alexandra; for objections similar to those I have given above would also equally apply to this piece.

so vague that it is impossible to form important theories upon it; moreover there is no appearance of another Σ, and the question suggests itself whether the word *Βασίλισσα* would have been divided in this manner? It may also be observed that the η between the rays of the star might just as well form part of the word יְהוֹנָתָן as of מֶלֶכָה. In consequence the theory of De Saulcy falls to the ground, and there are left the attributions of Levy and Poole, the only difference between them being that the former numismatist places some pontifical coins previous to the bilingual, still keeping some of them to follow, though at the time he so classified them he was ignorant of our knowledge of the re-struck coins. It seems to me that either classification can be adopted, though I give my opinion in favour of that of Mr. Poole.

ALEXANDER II.

De Saulcy does not agree in the attribution of the small coins with the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to this prince, and would feel obliged if any one could tell him at what period Alexander II. could have issued them? He cannot, however, quite bring himself to believe that they must be restored to Alexander Jannæus. At the time he wrote he had not seen the description of some small coins published by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt.²⁰ Do they at all alter his opinion, especially as Mr. Reichardt proposes to give one of them to Hyrcanus II.?

ANTIGONUS.

Of the coin attributed by the Rev. Churchill Babington to Antigonus I shall have a few words to say under the Herodian family.

²⁰ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iv. p. 175.

HERODIAN FAMILY.

The classification of coins to Herod I. and Archelaus offers no serious difficulty. De Saulcy is pleased that I agree with him as to the interpretation of the monogram P on the coins of Herod I.²¹ He does not, however, agree with the attribution of the small pieces with the type of an eagle and the legend $\text{HP}\Omega\Delta$. $\text{B}\alpha\varsigma\iota\lambda\alpha$. to Herod of Chalcis. He denies that a single specimen has ever been found in Jerusalem, rejecting altogether the idea that they were employed by the pilgrims. He says, "Quelle singulière idée pour des pelerins; ils emportent de chez eux des centimes, moins que des centimes, pour

²¹ Cavedoni ("Principali Questioni," &c., p. 13) still does not like to allow this interpretation to be correct, not being able to understand how the monogram, which occurs on pieces of different weights and of different sizes, can possibly designate a monetary value. Dr. Rapp ("Das Labarum und der Sonnen-cultus," vol. xxxix., *Jährb. des Ver. im Rheinlande*) is also of the same opinion. If, however, we suppose that there were two systems, as I have already proposed ("Hist. of Jewish Coinage," p. 295), the difficulty is not so very great. Moreover, a coin in the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, with the type of the Macedonian shield, weighing 41.9 grs., and without the monogram P (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iv. p. 184), is decidedly in favour of its interpretation by Τρίχαικος ; for were it not so, we should have found it upon this coin, which weighs half the Τρίχαικος , and which, consequently, may be the $\Deltaίχαικον$, of which at present a specimen is wanting. It would thus belong to the *lesser system* of the coins of Herod I. It might also be a $\chiαικοῦς$ of the *greater system* (cf. "Hist. of Jewish Coinage," l. c.). Mr. Reichardt's coin with the tripod (Num. Chron., l. c.), weighing 58.2 grs., is very heavy for the $\chiαικοῦς$, and proves that the lower denominations of coinage were struck much heavier than the higher, for even the coin of Herod I. with the helmet, belonging to Mr. Reichardt, weighs only 84.4 grs. (Num. Chron., l. c.). Cavedoni (l. c.) has also entirely misunderstood my arguments when he says that I consider the *æra minuta duo* [two *lepta*] equivalent to two *half quadrantes* (two *mezze quadrante*). I consider them equal to one *quadrans*. ("Hist. Jewish Coinage," pp. 296—302.)

les semer partout, et pas un d'eux n'a l'idée d'emporter un gros sou!" I must confess that I am rather inclined to agree with De Sauley's objections, and to consider these coins as issued by Herod I.²²

M. de Sauley remarks that I have observed on the inscription being written downwards, against their attribution to Herod I., but answers me by saying that a few pages before I have published a coin of Antigonus with the legend disposed in a similar manner. I have only to say in reply that when I published the coin of Antigonus I had had no opportunity of examining it, but took its description and engraving from the publication of Mr. Babington. I have now seen it, and the legend even is very doubtful, though after long examination one may fancy one can see the word ANTI[F]ONO. In any case it is my opinion that it is *not* a Jewish coin.

AGRIPPA I.

De Sauley still adheres obstinately to his statements about the year 6, and says, "I will believe in another date when I shall have seen it with my own eyes." I



here give woodcuts of the two coins *with other dates* which I have seen, both in the collection of Mr. Reichardt, without further comment.²³

²² M. de Sauley informs me that Dr. Levy is also of this opinion.

²³ The very difficult legend on a coin of Agrippa I., under Claudius, which only seemed to indicate some connection between Agrippa I., the Roman people, and the Senate ("Hist. of Jewish Coinage," p. 109), has been studied by Sig. Cavedoni. He con-

ROMAN PROCURATORS OF JUDÆA.

M. de Saulcy is willing to agree in Mommsen's idea respecting the coinage issued during the reign of Augustus, when he shall have seen the coins with the dates L. F and L. E. I do not know what more is required than the woodcut with the date L. F, which I have given in my book from a coin in Mr. Wigan's collection, which I have seen and handled, and of which reading there is not the *slightest doubt*.²⁴

siders ("Principali Questioni," &c., p. 14) that there are two distinct legends on the coin:—the first, IVMXIA (συμμαχία) T [ov] ΔΗΜ [ov] ΠΟΜΑΙΩΝ; and the second, ΒΑΣ [ιλευς] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ [την συν] ΚΑΗΤΟΝ (τιμα).

²⁴ Sig. Cavedoni ("Principali Questioni," p. 7, *note*) has kindly corrected two wrong references of mine, and at the same time has suggested that I should have written *Quirinius* instead of *Quirinus* for the name of the Prefect of Syria ("Hist. of Jewish Coinage," p. 134), and for the authority of an inscription given by Marini ("Inscr. degli Arvali," pp. 782, 787). Now this inscription came from Gurzenses, in Africa, and its many mistakes show that no reliance can be placed on it as regards correct orthography. Moreover, there is another inscription, the genuineness of which was doubted by Marini ("Att. e Mon. fra Arv.," p. 787), was thought false by Orelli ("Inscr.," no. 623), and was considered by Zumpt ("Commentat. Epigraph." pp. 104—107) a *turpe et magnum mendacium*, which gives the name of *Quirinus*, and the principal grounds on which Zumpt rests his opinion is the mode in which this proper name is spelt. Besides the inscription above alluded to from Marini, Zumpt quotes the "Fasti Verriani," which were not composed till the reign of Tiberius (Clinton, F. H., vol. iii. p. 269). The arguments *pro* and *con.* of these inscriptions, and their importance as regards the "taxing of Cyrenius," have been carefully collected together by Mr. W. R. A. Boyle ("The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel," p. 573 *seq.*, London, 1863), and he certainly proves that there is not the slightest ground for considering the inscription with *Quirinus* a forgery, as not only is it the *correct Latin* form of Cyrenius, but the inscription in Marini with *Quirinius* and the "Fasti Verriani" both afford internal evidence that their authority and general correctness are

AGRIPPA I AND II.

This coin M. de Sauley has found (but he does not say where it is), and gives an engraving of it, from which it appears that the reverse legend is ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΤΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, and under the horseman the date L. B. It is certainly a most remarkable coin.

IMPERIAL COLONIAL COINS STRUCK AT JERUSALEM.

Of these De Sauley says, "Mr. Madden has given the description of nine varieties which were unknown to me when I published my work. It is an excellent acquisition. It is only to be regretted that he was unable to engrave these rare coins."

This statement is not correct, for I published *twelve* coins unknown to De Sauley when he wrote his work, of which I have engraved *five*, leaving *seven*, of which at the time I had no means of obtaining the casts.²⁵

This concludes M. de Sauley's first paper, and it is really to be hoped that on calm reflection he will be induced to accede to most of the attributions proposed and received by every other numismatist. If not, one can

not to be depended upon. Dr. H. A. W. Meyer ("Kritisch-Exeg. Comment. über das Neue Test.," vol. ii. p. 222, Göttingen, 1844—52) is said to be also of opinion that *Quirinus* is the proper Latin form for the Greek Cyrenius (Alford, "Greek Test.," Luke ii. ver. 2, vol. i. p. 428,) but I have been unable to verify this reference, as the book is wanting in the library of the British Museum.

²⁵ M. de Sauley, at the conclusion of his second paper, has published two new coins of *Ælia Capitolina*—one, a second-brass of Caracalla, with his mother, Julia Domna; the other, a Diadumenian, slightly differing from that already known. He also engraves the coin of Lucius Verus, of which he has two specimens, which I published, but did not engrave, from the Reichardt collection.

only assume that he refuses to agree with them because they were not created and invented on French soil. In any case, it is certain that his *Numismatique Judaïque* cannot any longer be accepted as the "text book" for Jewish numismatics; and the only reason we can imagine that it has been consulted for so long, is the circumstance of it being written in French, the Italian and German languages not being so well known in England or in France.²⁶

A second paper by M. de Saulcy reviews the recent investigations and attributions of Dr. Levy respecting the coins of the revolts. He says, "To have a series of coins of two different epochs separated by an interval of sixty-five years, one must admit either that the coins of the first epoch were preserved to be again employed, or that they were servilely copied, in types, design, fabric, and style, sixty-five years afterwards." . . . "Do you know of a single example in numismatics which, after having suffered an eclipse of sixty-five years, is reproduced with such an identity from every point of view that it is *à priori* impossible to distinguish the produce of the two fabrications as having more than half a century between them?

"Do you know many ancient coins issued from the same dies? Is it not certain that in antiquity the dies deteriorated with such rapidity that it is evident they could not have been preserved from the first revolt, ending in A.D. 70, to be employed again in A.D. 135?

²⁶ It must be remembered that M. de Saulcy's volume does not exhibit one quarter the research of the works of Cavedoni and Levy, nor has he included in it the difficult series of the coins of the Tetrarchs or the money of the Old and New Testaments. Moreover, there is a great deficiency of references—classical and otherwise—which in these days are so necessary for the student in all branches of literature.

Is it not evident that the hypothesis should be entirely rejected, if only for the single reason that, for professed numismatists, the identity of the die of two ancient coins is an enormous cause of suspicion? Who then, besides, after the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, would have had the idea of carefully preserving the dies which had served the chiefs of the insurrection, those implacable men whose mutual hatred served so well the projects of the Romans? But enough on the hypothesis of the preservation of the original dies; let us pass on to the second hypothesis, which admits that the types of the first revolt were, sixty-five years later, reproduced with an exactitude so evident, that, I repeat, it is impossible *à priori* to distinguish between them the pieces struck from the original dies and the pieces struck from the copied dies. If this hypothesis is true, how can one explain the difference of the types, style, and fabric of coins, separated by a much less interval, in a monetary series which has not suffered interruption, as *par exemple* in the Roman Imperial series? etc.

"If then we are obliged to divide this numerous class of coins into two groups, one belonging to the first revolt, the other to the second, that is to say, to that of Bar-cohab, let us say, without hesitation, that we are in the presence of a phenomenon unique of its kind, and which has not its equal in the entire history of numismatics."

M. de Saulcy then examines the legends and the types, and in remarking on the former, introduces a table of the various *Nasi* of Israel, from which it appears that there were no less than three bearing the name of Simon. Thus, says De Saulcy, "Simon III., son of Gamaliel II., was then *Nasi* during the great revolt of Bar-cohab, and hence what reason have we, when the style, the fabric, and the

types of the coins forcibly make us pause, for assigning these coins to Nasi Simon II. rather than to Nasi Simon III. ? ”

De Saulcy naturally observes that the entire classification of coins to the two revolts is based upon the existence of the coins of Eleazar the priest, the Eleazar of the siege of Titus. But even this attribution is objected to, and an Eleazar who is said to have been put to death at Bethar, by order of Bar-cochab, because he was suspected of keeping up secret relations with the Romans, is proposed as the proper issuer of the money. This attribution is supposed to be strengthened by the circumstance that these coins bear only the date of the year 1, and if they belonged to the Eleazar of the first revolt, we ought to have found coins struck by his orders during the years 2 and 3. “Thus,” says de Saulcy, “if we do not find a coin of Eleazar of the year 2, we find in revenge the second brass of Simon Nasi, with the legend לְדִרְוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל שׁ”ב. Is it likely that this legend should be again found, after an interval of sixty-five years, on coins identical in types, style, and fabric, which are now separated by the only reason that one set are of Simon Nasi, and the other of a Simon who did not bear the title of Nasi ? ”

This last argument can be easily answered, as the coin of Simon Nasi of the *second* year is now proved to have never existed.²⁷

A curious incident and semi-corroboration of M. de Saulcy's assertions, is the fact that in the first chamber of the “Tomb of the Kings,” visited by him in November, 1863, in which were several bodies, a number of coins were found, consisting of money of Herod, Agrippa I. (year 6, L.S.), and of the revolt years 2 and 3. As he

²⁷ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iv. p. 180.

considers that these burials date from the siege of Titus, he argues that "If the fabrication of these last small pieces were preceded by that of all the pieces that one wishes to attribute to Eleazar, Simon Nasi, son of Gamaliel, and to Simon, son of Gioras, how is it that not one of these coins of the first revolt were found in the pockets of one of the Jewish bodies buried in the charnel house?"

The remarkable coin first published by De Saulcy,²⁸ with the names in conjunction of Eleazar and Simon, and considered by him a forgery—though De Vogüé asserts that he has seen a genuine specimen—does not in any way oppose itself to his views; for, as it has been considered a league coin between Eleazar and Simon, son of Gioras, so now does De Saulcy consider it a league coin between Eleazar Hamodai and Simon Bar-cohab. He says, "It seems to me more rational that a coin of association should be issued before the rupture of the two persons who ordered them to be made, rather than after the reconciliation of two foreign enemies, who consent, in the face of a common danger, to reunite their efforts, without very probably in any way abjuring their sentiments of personal hatred."

From these several principal statements De Saulcy feels himself forced to come to the following conclusions and classifications:—

"1. The pieces of small brass with the vase and vine undoubtedly belong to the first revolt which preceded the siege of Titus.

"2. All other coins without exception belong to the second revolt, that of Bar-cohab.

"3. The coins of Eleazar the priest were issued by

²⁸ "Num. Jud.," pl. xii. no. 7; "Hist. of Jewish Coinage," p. 162.

the Eleazar whom Bar-cohab put to death under the pretext that he kept up relations with the Romans, but much more probably because he saw in him a rival.

"4. The coins of Simon Nasi were issued by the President of the Sanhedrim, Simon III., son of Gamaliel II., contemporary of Bar-cohab, who did not dare treat this holy person as he had treated Eleazar.

"5. All coins with the name of Simon, without the title Nasi, belong to Bar-cohab, of whom they reveal the true name, a name which historians have not transmitted to us.

"6. As to the anonymous pieces with the legend ירושלם, they were probably issued for an exclusively religious use, and by the priestly body."

"By means of this classification," says De Saulcy, "I do not put myself in opposition with any essential principle of numismatic science, and I respect historical facts."

M. de Saulcy has also carefully examined the passages from the Talmud collected by Dr. Levy, and translated *in toto* by myself, and concludes that the only positive fact which they establish is, that at the time when the Talmudic writings were drawn out, the coins of Bar-cohab existed in great quantities in the hands of the Jews. This part of the subject I hope Dr. Levy will again consider, not feeling myself competent to argue thereupon.

To be just to M. de Saulcy, I must say that this second part of his paper shows much greater thought, and gives cause for more serious deliberation, than his first part. His objections are in many ways very reasonable, but still there is not one iota of proof for any. It is certainly remarkable to find coins with identical types, style, and fabric re-appearing after a lapse of sixty-five years; but is

it more remarkable than finding—if all the coins belong to Bar-cohab—the same ancient Hebrew character upon them revived after a lapse of 175 years? The peculiar national, and, if one may be allowed to say, fanatic character of the Jews, at a period when their independence was to be for ever wrested from them, might surely be adduced as an argument in favour of types, style, and fabric being so carefully imitated. Again, one is induced to ask, why should Bar-cohab have issued so large a coinage with the name *Simon*, a name unrecognised in his history, whilst the well-known Simon contented himself with the small copper pieces of the years 2 and 3? Again, where are the pieces of the year 1 of the first revolt? Here is a positive blank. Again, if Simon, son of Gioras, did not enter Jerusalem till the *third year*, Bar-cohab did *not enter it at all*. Why then is it more improbable that Simon, son of Gioras, should have issued pieces with the date year 2 of the deliverance of Israel, and without date of the deliverance of Jerusalem—thus agreeing with the time of his government in Jerusalem, A.D. 69 and A.D. 70, the latter being the coinage of the year of his entry, the former that of his second year—than that Bar-cohab should have issued so many pieces both with and without dates bearing the name of a city in which it is in no way proved he ever even obtained an entrance? Indeed, it is more than probable that Jerusalem was in the hands of the Romans the whole of the second revolt. Hypotheses in favour of both theories can thus be started, and the whole question of the latter period of Jewish coinage must again be carefully weighed. I hope that Dr. Levy will re-consider these objections of De Sauley to his recent new attributions in the later History of Jewish Coinage.

I have, however, one observation to make.

De Saulcy, in his table of the "Nasi of Israel," says that Simon III. exercised the dignity of Nasi *after* the death of Akiba and the taking of Bethar, and at the end of his paper admits him as *contemporary with* Bar-cohab. Now these two statements do not agree. Bethar was taken and the death of Bar-cohab occurred in A.D. 135, and the following year a colony was established at Jerusalem by Hadrian, the city bearing the new name of *Ælia Capitolina*. Now, does De Saulcy mean to assert that Simon III..Nasi issued a coinage after the death of Bar-cohab and the total subjugation of the Jewish nation? Are we to receive as a fact that the coins with the legends "Simon Nasi Israel," and "the first year of the redemption of Israel," were struck after A.D. 135? It is enough to have to believe that they were issued at all during the government of Bar-cohab; it is too much to expect us to conclude that M. de Saulcy's new attribution bears half the likelihood of that of Dr. Levy.

For the present I reserve forming any further opinion on the new theories started by De Saulcy.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

XI.

BENGAL COINS.

ABOUT two years ago, the fall of a river-bank in the territory of Cooch Behár, in Northern Bengal, disclosed the accumulated treasures of some local Croesus, arranged in a row of nearly disintegrated earthen pots, whose united contents amounted to no less than 13,500 silver pieces, in metallic value nearly £1,400. These were consigned as bullion to the Calcutta Mint, from whose crucibles, however, Col. Guthrie rescued rather more than a thousand picked specimens, which have lately been examined by Mr. Thomas.

The historical data contributed by this selected series are embodied in the accompanying table. For the information of those who may be little conversant with the provincial annals, it may be stated that Shams-ud-dín (No. 2) was the son of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the heir of Balban, Emperor of Delhi,¹ but who preferred the obscure repose of a southern government to the higher and more onerous dignity of succession to the throne of his father.

The eighth king represented by the coins was the first conclusively independent monarch of Bengal.² The range of the dates of the collection will be seen to extend from A.H. 691 to A.H. 799, or from A.D. 1291-2 to A.D. 1396; and whether in point of historical or geographical interest, it is seldom that any single *trouvaille* has contributed so large an amount of numismatic knowledge to the successors of the ancient lords of the soil.

¹ Num. Chron., vol. ix. (1846). "Marsden," No. DCXCV. p. 624.

² Shaháb-ud-dín and Bahádur were sons of Shams-ud-dín, the second not unknown to fame; as was Mubárák Sháh, the fifth on the list, against whom Alá-ud-dín Alí Sháh (No. 6) held for a time the capital of Bengal. Ikhtiár-ud-dín Ghází Sháh (No. 7), like Rukn-ud-dín Kai Káús (No. 1), claims a more critical identification than the limits of this note admit.

BENGAL MINTS.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Lākhnautí.	Firúzábád.	Satgaon.	Shahr Nau.	Sunárgaon.	Muazamábád.
I. Kai Kátús.....	A.H. 691,..... 693	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
II. Shams-ud-dín	720..... 722	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	in possession.	.. .. .
III. Shaháb-ud-dín .....	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
IV. Bahádur Sháh.....	710, 712, break, 720-722	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	No. iv. Under Muham- mad bin Tughlak, 728.	.. .. .
Muhammad bin Tughlak } (himself) }	..... 733	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
V. Mubarak Sháh .....	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	737, break, 741 to 750	.. .. .
VI. Alí Sháh .....	.. .. .	742..... 746	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
VII. Ghází Sháh .....	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	751..... 753	.. .. .
VIII. Ilkás Sháh .....	.. .. .	740 to 751, and 758	.. .. .	.. .. .	753..... 758	.. .. .
IX. Sikandar Sháh .....	.. .. .	751 to 760, and 792	.. .. .	780..... 785	757..... 764	760..... 764
X. Azam Sháh .....	.. .. .	791..... 799	790..... 796	.. .. .	.. .. .	770..... 785

Mint No. 7. Ghíaspúr.....iv. Bahádur Sháh.

Mint No. 8. Jannatábád.....x. Azam Sháh.

XII.

SOME NOTES ON THE ECCLES FIND OF SILVER COINS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, February 16, 1865.]

I HAVE now much pleasure in laying before the Numismatic Society the general results of the lengthened examination which has been made by my colleague, Mr. Head, and myself, into the great hoard of coins recently found at Eccles, near Manchester.

Before, however, I do this, it may be as well for me to state such circumstances as have been ascertained with reference to the discovery itself. It would appear, then, that these coins were found on Thursday, August 11, 1864, by James Britch, a "card-room hand," in the employment of Messrs. Gibb and Sons, of the Moorside cotton mills, near a dwelling-house called Monk's Hall (possibly part of Whalley Hall, which was suppressed at the Reformation), in the parish of Eccles; and that they were forwarded to the solicitor of Her Majesty's Mint by John Harland, Esq., F.S.A., of Swinton, in the same parish, who had informed the finder that the coins so found were, as treasure-trove, the property of her Majesty the Queen, and who has since published, in the *Reliquary*, vol. v. pp. 89—93, some details as to the circumstances under which they were discovered. From this memoir, it appears that they were deposited in an earthen pot (which is engraved in Mr. Harland's memoir), with

the mouth uppermost ; but so fragile is its material, that the upper portion broke away with the least pressure of the surrounding earth. This pot seems to have been deposited close to a new footpath that flanks the Monk's Hall premises, and the condition of the coins when I first received them from the Earl of Clarendon, as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, fully confirms the belief that they must have been exposed to the action of the weather of centuries, very little under the surface of the soil. The whole weight was about 21 lbs. avoirdupois. "The pot, or vase," says Mr. Harland, "in which the coins were contained was so much broken by the finder and afterwards in exhuming it, that only the lower part is preserved. This fragment is four inches deep, having a diameter at the bottom of five and a quarter inches, and widening or swelling out at the height of three inches, to a diameter at the fragmentary upper edge of nearly seven inches. . . . It is of the commonest whitish earthenware, the production of a lathe, and rudely ornamented with bands of half an inch breadth to a height of about four inches, above which it seems to have been decorated, while the clay was soft, by a small square instrument, in square shallow indents. . . . Inside, the pressure of some of the coins flat against the sides of the pot has left distinct indented discs."

The whole number of coins thus recovered is 6,217 ; of which a very large proportion belong to a prince named Henry, and are similar to those which are at present attributed, in the National Collection, to Henry II. With them were associated 104 specimens struck by John in Dublin, 196 specimens of William I. (the Lion) of Scotland, and 4 foreign coins : 198 were partially or wholly illegible.

The two following lists contain :—

I. MINTS—and the number of coins belonging to each.

II. MONEYS—arranged under their respective mint-towns.

I. MINTS.

Bury St. Edmunds	.	.	.	.	212
Canterbury	.	.	.	.	2278
Carlisle	.	.	.	.	15
Chichester	.	.	.	.	31
Durham	.	.	.	.	22
Exeter	.	.	.	.	19
Ilchester?	.	.	.	.	1
Ipswich	.	.	.	.	18
Lincoln	.	.	.	.	58
London	.	.	.	.	2643
Lynn	.	.	.	.	14
Northampton and Norwich	.	.	.	.	105
Oxford	.	.	.	.	13
Rhuddlan	.	.	.	.	9
Rochester	.	.	.	.	18
Shrewsbury	3
Wilton	3
Winchester	142
Worcester	1
York	96
					<hr/>
					5,715

IRISH COINS.

Dublin	104
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SCOTCH COINS.

Edinburgh	}					196
Perth		
Roxburgh		

FOREIGN.

Dortmund	1
Münster	1
Uncertain	2

PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE	198
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Total of all classes . 6,217

II. MONEYERS.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

FOLKÆ.	NVRMÆN.
FVKÆ.	RÆVE.
FVLKÆ.	SIMVN.
IOÆN.	SIMVND.
NORMÆN.	WILLÆLM.
NOR. MÆN.	

CANTERBURY.

ÆNDRÆV.	ROBERD.
ÆNTRI.	ROBERT.
ÆRNÆVD.	ROBET.
ÆRNOLD.	RODERD.
ÆOLDWICÆ.	ROGÆR.
ÆOLDWINÆ.	ROGÆROF.
hÆNRI.	ROGÆR. OF .
hÆN. RI.	ROGÆROF. R.
hNÆRI.	ROGÆROFR.
hIVN.	ROGÆ. OF. R.
hVÆ.	ROGÆR. OF. R.
IOÆN.	STLÆMV.
IO. ÆN.	STLÆMVN.
IOÆN æhICÆ.	STÆMVÆL.
IOhÆN.	SIMON.
IOhÆ. N.	SINON.
IOhÆN. B.	SIMVN.
IOhÆN. M.	SI. MVN.
IOÆNÆN. (<i>double struck.</i>)	SINVN.
IVN.	SINVN.
MÆINIR.	TOMÆS.
NORMÆN.	VLÆRD.
OSMVND.	WÆLTÆR.
OSMVNDÆ.	WÆLTÆR.
OSNVNDÆ.	WÆTÆR.
RÆNÆLD.	WILLÆM.
RÆINTÆLD.	WILLÆM. T.
RIOÆ. . . .	WILLÆN. TÆ.

CARLISLE.

ÆLÆIN.	TOMÆS.
ÆLÆIN.	

CHICHESTER.

ÆVÆRTARD.
PIÆRÆS.
RÆVF.
RÆVLF.

RÆNÆVD.
RÆINÆLD.
SIMON.
WILLÆLM.

DURHAM.

ÆLÆIN.
PÆRÆS.

PIÆRÆS.

EXETER.

GILÆBÆRD.
IOHÆN.

OSBÆR.
RIGÆRD.

ILCHESTER (?).

hÆRNÆVD ON I.

IPSWICH.

ÆLISTÆNDREÆ.
ÆLISTÆNDR.

IOHÆN.

LINCOLN.

ÆLÆIN.
ÆNDRÆ.
ÆNDRÆV.
ÆDMVND.
hVÆ.

RÆVF.
RIGÆRD.
TOMÆS.
WÆLTÆR.
WILLÆLM.

LYNN.

IOHÆN.
NIGOLÆ.

WILLÆLM.

LONDON.

ÆBÆL.
ÆDÆM.
ÆIMÆR.
ÆLÆIN.
ÆLÆIN . V.
BÆNÆIT.
DÆVI.
ÆLIS.
Æ . LIS.
FIÆÆIMÆR.
FOLKÆ.
FVLKÆ.
GODÆRD.

hÆ . LIS.
hÆLIS.
hÆNÆL.
hÆNÆRIÆ.
IÆFRÆL.
ILGÆL.
ILGÆR.
ILGÆRÆR.
ILGIÆR.
IGÆR.
IOHÆN.
LÆIS (probably ÆLIS
transposed).

OSBÆR.
PIÆRÆS.
PIÆRÆS. M.
RÆVF.
RÆVL.
RÆVLF.
RÆNÆR.
RICÆRD.
RICÆRD. B.
RICÆRD. T.
RICÆRD.
ROGÆR.
STIVENÆ.
TÆRIRI.
TÆ. RI.
TÆRRI.

TÆR. RI.
WÆLGÆR.
WÆLTÆR.
WÆTÆR.
WÆTÆR.
WILLÆM.
WILLÆM. B.
WILLÆM. L.
WILLÆM. T.
WILLN. T.
WILÆM.
WILLÆLM.
WILLÆLM. B.
WILLÆLM. L.
WILLÆLM. T.
WILLÆN.

NORWICH AND NORTHAMPTON.

ÆDÆM.
FILIP.
GIÆFÆRÆI.
GIÆRÆI.
hVGO.
IOhÆN.
OSMVND.
RÆNDVL.

RÆVL.
RÆNÆLD.
RÆNÆVD.
RÆINÆVD.
ROBERD.
ROBERD. T.
WÆLTÆR.
WILLÆLM.

OXFORD.

ÆILWINÆ.
hÆNRI.
IÆFRÆI.

IFRÆI.
MILÆS.
RICÆRD.

RHUDDLAN?

hÆLLI.
SIMON.

SIMOND.
TOMÆS.

ROCHESTER.

ÆLISTÆN.
ÆLISTÆNOR.
hVMFRÆI.

hVNÆFRÆI.
hVNFÆRÆI.
hVNFRÆI.

SHREWSBURY.

hVÆ (?).

IVÆ.

WILTON.

OSBÆR.

WINCHESTER.

ADAM.	MILIS.
ANDREW.	OSBARN.
BARTOLMÆ.	OSBER.
CLEMENT.	RAVE.
GOOELM.	RANIER.
HENRI.	REINIER.
IOHAN.	RICARD.
LVKAS.	RODBERT.
MILÆS.	WILLELM.
MLEs.	

WORCESTER.

OSBER.

YORK.

DAMI.	NICOLA.
EVERARD.	PERES.
EFERARD.	RANAVD.
GERARD.	REINAVD.
HVGO.	TOMAS.
IOHAN.	TVRKIL.
ISAC.	WITAM.

IRISH COINS.—MONEYS.

ROBERT.	WILÆLM.
WILLELM.	WILLÆM.

SCOTCH COINS.—MONEYS.

HENRI.	HVÆ WALTER.
HENRI LÆ RUS.	PARIS ADAM.
HENRI RW S:	RAVL.
HVÆ.	WALTER.

Of the 5,217 English coins, the following forty-one are worthy of note, as having at the commencement of the legends, on their reverses, the *Cross-pommée* instead of the usual cross.

CANTERBURY.

✚ GOLDWINE ON CT.	IOHTAN ON CTANT.
GOLDWINE „ C.	ROBERT „ CT.
GOLD WINE „ C.	STMVEL „ CTAN.
hVE „ CTANT	SIMVN „ CTANT.
— „ CTANTÆ.	SINVN „ CTAN.
✚ IOHTAN „ CTAN.	

CHICHESTER.

✚ RAVLE ON CICAÆ.

DURHAM.

✚ PÆRES ON DVR :

LINCOLN.

✚ ALAIN ON NICO.	✚ RICARD ON NICOL.
ANDRÆ „ NICO.	

LONDON.

✚ FOLKE ON LVND.	RICARD ON LW.
— „ LVND.	RICARD „ LV.
FVLKE „ LVND.	WILLELM „ LV.
— „ LVNDÆ.	WILLELM „ LVN.
HENRI „ LVND.	WILEM „ LV.
— „ LVNDE.	WILLELM „ LV.
— „ LVND.	— „ LVI.
RICARD „ LV.	

NORWICH.

✚ IOHTAN ON NORW.	RANTLD ON NOR.
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RHUDDLAN?

✚ SIMON ON RVLK.	SIMOND ON RVLK.
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WINCHESTER.

✚ hENRI ON WINCÆ.	MILIS ON WING.
IOHTAN „ WIN.	

YORK.

✚ DAVI ON EVÆRW.	NICOLÆ ON EVÆR.
EVÆRTARD „ V.	

To this peculiarity of certain specimens of the short-cross money, our member, the Rev. Assheton Pownall,

has already called attention in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1863 (New Series, vol. iii., p. 189). In this paper Mr. Pownall has given a list of forty-five varieties then known to him. This list we are now able to increase by twenty other varieties from the Eccles find—to wit:—

hVÆ	ON CANT.	RICARD	ON LV.
IOAN	„ CANT.	RICARD	„ LW.
ROBERD	„ CANT.	RICARD	„ LV.
	„ CANT.	WILAM	„ LV.
SIMVN	„ CANT.	WILLGLM	„ LV.
SINVN	„ CANT.		„ LW.
RIVLF	„ CANT.	RANALD	„ NOR.
PÆRÆS	„ DVR.	IOHAN	„ WIN.
ANDRÆ	„ NICO.	MILÆS	„ WINC.
hENRI	„ LVND.	NICOLÆ	„ EVER.

It seems, therefore, that there are now about sixty-five recorded specimens of this variety.

Mr. Pownall suggests that the *Cross-pommée* may indicate the separation of one part of a moneyer's work from the rest, or may have served to distinguish the handiwork of two moneyers who bore a common name, as, for instance, that of a father and a son: suggestions which are probable, but require further proof. This is, however, I think, generally true, that in most cases there is a marked difference in the workmanship of the coins which exhibit the same moneyer's name, according as the *Cross-pommée* is or is not used. On the other hand, Mr. Longstaffe imagines that the occurrence of this peculiarity indicates that the coin bearing it must have been struck before the year A.D. 1212, the end of the reign of Otho IV., Emperor of Germany, because he fancies it was adopted from these coins by that emperor.

The occurrence of this peculiar type on any of Otho's money is certainly a curious fact: and, as the coin that bears it is wholly different from all other known

specimens of Otho's coinage, it may be reasonably supposed that it was struck between A.D. 1209, when he left England, after having received a considerable sum from his uncle John, and A.D. 1212, when he laid down the crown; if, indeed, it can be shown that coins so marked were in circulation in England previous to, or during, Otho's residence here. For this, however, we have no conclusive evidence; though, as I shall show hereafter, it is possible that three or four such specimens may belong to the second coinage of Henry II. It so happens that this particular type of Otho is very rare, the Museum, up to the discovery of these coins (among which is one of Otho), having only one specimen. At the same time I may observe that the *Cross-pommée* is not unknown on other specimens of the coinage of continental Europe at nearly the same period, and that we find it in places for which any direct connection with England—such as was the case with Otho IV.—is nowise certain. Thus it occurs on the coins of the Emperors Henry VI. (A.D. 1190—1197), Otho IV. (A.D. 1198—1212), and Frederic II. (A.D. 1212—1250), two of whose coins are in the present find; possibly, too, on one of Frederic I. (A.D. 1152—1190), if, indeed, this coin be rightly attributed. It occurs, also, on coins of the town of Münster, in Westphalia, (one of which is here also), of about the date A.D. 1198—1208; and on those of Conrad, Bishop of Belzburg, A.D. 1227—1238. The type is, however, evidently a rare one, and quite as uncommon among the continental coins as it appears to have been among the short-cross pennies.

If this be so, I do not see why we should (with Mr. Longstaffe) expect that, if any undoubted English coins of John should ever turn up, these coins would be marked

with the *Cross-pommée*; for, from the obvious rarity of this type, the inference would surely be just the contrary. All, I think, we can safely affirm is, that on the money of a foreign ruler (Otho), who had some dealings with England, and whose reign (from A.D. 1208 to A.D. 1212) was partially coincident with that of his uncle John, the rarest of the types of the short-cross pennies occurs. I should add that on the foreign coins it is placed, not as on the English coins, invariably at the commencement of the legend of the reverse, but occasionally before that of the obverse.

Lastly, I may state generally that the following moneyers and places occur in the *greatest* numbers: thus we find of—

Abel	on Lunde	307
—	„ Lund	91
Henri	„ Cant	153
—	„ Cante	85
Ilger	„ Lunde	377
—	„ Lund	256
Joan	„ Cante	121
—	„ Cant	68
Jun	„ Canter	108
Rauf	„ Lunde	252
—	„ Lund	99
Raulf	„ Lund	90
Roger	„ Cant	117
—	„ Can	75
Tomas	„ Cant	150
Walter	„ Lu	136
Elis	„ Lund	63
—	„ Lunde	96
Roger of R.	on C	89
Samuel	on Can	83
Simun	„ Cant	80
—	„ Cante	86
Terri	„ Lund	81
Simon	„ Cant	75
Norman	„ San	60.

or, in other words, sixteen moneyers for London and Canterbury absorb 3,200 coins, or more than half the whole collection ; and, in this estimate, I have not specified any moneyer of whom less than sixty different or similar specimens have been met with. The Irish coins all belong to the reign of John : and to the second class of that king's Irish money—viz., to those struck after he became King of England. They are 105 in number, and were all struck at Dublin by the moneyers Robert and William, in the proportion of 102 of the former to three of the latter. They present no feature of interest, and are in preservation about as good as those usually met with.

It is, however, perhaps worth while to remark that the peculiar type of this second class of John's money, the triangle, is found on the money of many continental rulers who were contemporary with or subsequent in date to the reign of John ; and further, that it appears as heterogeneous among the usual foreign types of the period as the *Cross-pommée* types of Otho IV. and Frederic II. among their other and more usual coins. Thus we find the triangle on coins of the Emperors Henry VI., Frederic II., Rudolph of Hapsburg, Ludwig IV., and Sigismund, between the years A.D. 1190 and A.D. 1437 ; on those of Primosa, Gertrudis, and Irmengarde, Abbesses of Hervorden, between A.D. 1180 and A.D. 1295 ; and on those of Conrad, Archbishop of Cologne, A.D. 1237—1261 ; of Gottfried, Count of Arnsberg, A.D. 1324—1349 ; and of Theodor, Count of Horn, A.D. 1376—1402 ; and lastly, on the local coinage of Münster, under Henry VI., A.D. 1190—1197, and under its Bishop, Ludolph, A.D. 1226—1248. In some instances local German symbols are introduced, as the wheel of Osnaburg on some of the coins

of Henry VI., but generally the form of the Irish triangle is well preserved.

The Scotch coins, of which there are altogether 195 in this hoard, consist entirely of specimens of William the Lion, who reigned from A.D. 1165 to A.D. 1213. No unusual or unknown types occur among them; and many of them are so badly preserved that it is not possible to decipher them satisfactorily. Their occurrence is so far important that it shows that the hoard could not have been brought together and deposited till early in the thirteenth century, though no conclusive inference can be deduced from this fact in favour of the appropriation of the short-cross pennies either wholly to Henry II. or Henry III., or in part to each of these monarchs.

The four foreign coins in this hoard, to which we have already alluded, are of peculiar interest from their rarity, and from the analogy which, as I have already mentioned, they exhibit with the *Cross-pommée* specimens of the short-cross series.

They may be described as follows:—

1. OTHO IV., A.D. 1208—1212.

Obv.—OTTO [IMPER]ATOR. Bust of emperor, full-faced, crowned; in right, sceptre.

Rev.—✠ TRÆMONTIA. RÆIA (REGIA). [Dortmund] Short cross, with four pellets in each angle. (Pl. xi. fig. 11.)

2. MÜNSTER, in Westphalia (about A.D. 1208—1212).

Obv.—+ SANCT[VS] [PAVL]VS. Bust of St. Paul, full-faced, with nimbus.

Rev.—✠ MONASTÆRIVM. Short cross, with four pellets, joined together in each angle.

3. FREDERIC II., A.D. 1212—1250.

Obv.—✠ FR[IDERI]C[US] S. Bust of emperor to right, full-faced, crowned; in right, sceptre.

Rev.—✠ RO[MA]NVS . REX. Short cross, with four pellets in each angle.

4. FREDERIC II.

Obv.—✚ REX . FRIDERIC[V]S. Bust of emperor, full-faced, crowned; in right, sceptre.

Rev.—✚ ROMANVS . REXA. Short cross, with four pellets in each angle. (Pl. XI. Fig. 12.)

With respect to the coins of Otho IV. and of Dortmund, I have nothing specially to remark; but with regard to the other two, it is of importance to determine, if possible, whether they should be attributed to Frederic I., Barbarossa, who reigned from A.D. 1152 to A.D. 1190, or to Frederic II., who succeeded Otho IV. in A.D. 1212, and reigned till A.D. 1250; because, if the Frederic on these coins is the first of this name, we have an instance of the *Cross-pommée* type at least as early as A.D. 1190, and probably still earlier. Now, I think that this question may be satisfactorily determined in favour of Frederic II. by a comparison of the heads on all the coins usually attributed either to Frederic I. or II., *with one exception*. On this exceptional coin, which I have engraved from the National Collection (Pl. XI. Fig. 10), the portrait (so to call it) much resembles that which I have later in this paper given some reasons for attributing to Henry III. of England. Thus, on each side of the head we see two curls of hair, each enclosing a pellet; the face is bearded; and the whole is enclosed in a lozenge of dots. On the reverse occurs the *Cross-pommée*, and the short cross with the four pellets in each angle, the pellets in this case being joined, so as to make a figure precisely the same as the *Cross-pommée*; the whole (as on the obverse) is enclosed in a lozenge of dots. The place of mintage is TREMANIA (Dortmund), as in the case of Otho IV.

I may add that this coin stands alone in the series attributed to Frederic I., and bears no resemblance to

any of his other money. On the other hand, the portraits of Otho IV. and Frederic II. can only be distinguished by the legends which surround the coins, and have nothing in common with the portrait on the so-called Frederic I. It seems, therefore, probable that though there are coins of two different Frederics, the two specimens in this hoard belong to Frederic II., who succeeded Otho IV. in A.D. 1212, and not in either case to Frederic I.

But even supposing it be proved that this unique coin is rightly attributed to Frederic I., we do not require the theory that the *Cross-pommée* type was adopted by Otho IV. directly from England; for it is quite as likely that Otho and his successors should have copied the coins of a preceding emperor, as that they should have been the first to imitate an English type. The presumed Frederic I. may have been taken from types prevailing in England between A.D. 1152 and A.D. 1190, though, as we shall see hereafter, the evidence is not conclusive as to this fact.

The general condition of the whole collection must be considered good, the proportion of specimens actually illegible being small. When, indeed, first brought to me, many of the coins were found to be deeply covered with mud and other impurities; but on gently soaking them in plain water, by far the greater part have been rendered legible. I am inclined to think that some of them have, at some period, been subjected to the action of fire, many of their edges showing indications of fusion, or at all events of injury more than would seem the result of exposure to weather.

The detailed list given above shows the extent to which modifications in spelling were in use at the time when

these coins were struck; and some minor varieties, occasioned by the insertion of dots between different portions of the legends, which I could scarcely have made intelligible to my hearers when I originally read this paper.

A small proportion of the coins, perhaps 2 per cent.—certainly not more—were noticed to have been doubly struck, but rarely to such an extent that it was impossible to determine the intended legends; and, in one or two instances, the types of the reverses were found to have been struck upon the obverse, and *vice versa*.

I come now to the most important portion of this paper—the principles upon which it is, or is not, possible to classify this large collection, and which directly bear upon the whole theory of the correct attribution of the short-cross coins. But before I enter upon this, I must distinctly state that I had no previous prejudice on the subject, and that the results at which I have arrived are entirely from a comparison of the various specimens. My friend Mr. Longstaffe seems to have thought he could detect an earlier character in the coins bearing the *Cross-pommée*; on the contrary, with very few exceptions, I feel persuaded that so far as their workmanship or preservation afford an argument, one way or the other, the types so distinguished ought to be placed among the latest coins. It will, I believe, be generally seen that the *Cross-pommée* coins are better preserved than most of the other types; none, indeed, of these coins exhibit such marked excellency over other specimens of the same series, as may be noticed, for instance, in the case of some of the coins of Offa, or, to take the strongest instance of which I am aware, the Italian coins of the Emperor Frederic II., as compared with

the German money of the same ruler. I should rather say that the reverses exhibit a remarkable uniformity of style, the result, probably, of their having been made for the most part at nearly the same period. I should add, that a general comparison of the coins with and without the *Cross-pommée* shows that in Series II. (those I attribute to Philip Aimer) one place only exhibits the *Cross-pommée*, viz. that which is doubtfully called Rhuddlan, with two moneyers, Simon and Simond. In Series III. (those I attribute to the earliest coinage of Henry III.), and to which all the other *Cross-pommée* coins belong, we find the following towns represented, with the number of moneyers in each: to wit—

Bury St. Edmunds	.	.	.	1 moneyer.
Canterbury	.	.	.	5 "
Chichester	.	.	.	2 "
Durham	.	.	.	1 "
York	.	.	.	3 "
Exeter	.	.	.	1 "
Lincoln	.	.	.	3 "
London	.	.	.	5 "
Norwich	.	.	.	1 "
Northampton or Norwich	.	.	.	1 "
Winchester	.	.	.	3 "

In other words, there are twenty-six distinct moneyers who make use of this peculiar type, and eleven towns. On the other hand, six towns—

Carlisle,	Northampton,
Ipswich,	Oxford, and
Lynn,	Rochester,

do not seem to have made use of this type: at all events, are not represented in the Eccles collection. And on extending the comparison further, I observe that twenty out of the twenty-six *Cross-pommée* coins have the same moneyers' names *without* the *Cross-pommée*—a fact

which, as far as it goes, tends to bear out Mr. Pownall's suggestion as to the meaning and object of this type.

The admitted dates of some of the coins, and the inferences deducible from this admission, I shall speak of hereafter.

Now, with regard to the obverses, I must confess that from the first I encouraged the hope that some definite results, tending to clear up or to set at rest the whole question, might be obtained from a close examination of the different portraits on these coins. With this view I subjected them to a very minute examination, and at first fancied I could detect as many as twenty variations in some part or other of the royal portrait, or of its adjuncts. My colleague, too, Mr. Head, devoted many hours to a very accurate study of this branch of the subject. The result has however been that we have at last agreed that my original subdivision was too minute; and that, though some other variations may be detected, it is best, on the whole, not to make more than the four following classes, under one or other of which we have therefore determined to group the whole of this collection.

I must add that these four divisions were not primarily made with any chronological view; indeed, at the time we made them, Mr. Head had less hope than I indulged in as to any proof of dates to be derived from this classification. Now, as I shall show presently, I do cherish the belief (slight though it be) that an uniformity of style we find prevailing in each group does afford some indication of the period to which different specimens of these coins may on fair reasoning be attributed; though it is, at the same time, likely that other students may be induced to accept a more minute subdivision.

I may state, generally, that these coins are all round,

often, indeed, so round as to suggest the probability that they have been struck in a collar; that the king's head is full-faced, within a plain circle, outside of which appears the right hand holding the sceptre and the legend containing the king's name and royal title;—beyond the legend, and close to the edge of the coin, is a circle of dots. The king's head is not crowned, as on the coins found at Tealby, which have very generally been considered the *first* type of Henry II.; but in its place we find a diadem of four or more pearls with a cross in the centre, and surmounting it, resembling in character the *Cross-pommée*. In two instances the sceptre is held in the left hand. To prevent the chance of any misunderstanding, I have engraved a specimen of each of the classes into which we have subdivided the collection. They may be described as follows:—

Type I. (Pl. XI., No. 1), as a rule, exhibits a middle-aged face, with two curls on the right side of it, and five on the left. The number, however, sometimes varies. The curls are semicircular, and do not enclose pellets. The square E and C occur in this type only: a fact which forms a connecting link between the specimens so marked and the money of the Tealby find. The face shows a beard, and signs of whiskers and moustachio more or less developed. Above the head is a diadem of four pearls, surmounted by the cross described above. In the right hand is a sceptre. Good instances of the type may be noticed in the coins struck by REINIER ON WINCE, and STIVENE ON LW. The following coins of this type exhibit the square E and C:—

TSRETIN ON EXELE.
IORDAN „ EXEH.
PIERES M. „ LVN.
FILIP „ NORHT.

hVGO ON NORHT.
OSBER „ WILT.
LLEQENT „ WIN.
(Pl. XI. Fig. 6.)

It ought, however, to be mentioned that some of these coins have manifestly transitional legends, the round letters being found on the same specimens as the square.

Type II. (Pl. XI., No. 2). In this the face is generally extremely rude, with one semicircular curl on each side of the head; the outlines of the cheeks being often altogether wanting. Beard, whiskers, and moustachio, are rarely distinguishable. The diadem has generally five pearls. The right hand holds the sceptre, as in Type I. In illustration of this type, I have engraved a coin struck by IVE ON SALOP.

Type III. (Pl. XI., Fig. 3) generally shows a long, thin face, often youthful, with beard, moustachio, and whiskers. On each side of the face are two or more curls enclosing pellets. The diadem contains four or six pearls. From the number of specimens of this type, it must be considered the most common. Moreover, nearly all of the *cross-pomellée* coins belong to it, as I have before stated. The following are good specimens:—

hVÆ	ON	ΑΠΝΤÆ.	✚	RICARD	ON	LVN.
✚ hVÆ	„	ΑΠΝΤÆ.		RICARD . B	„	LV.
✚ ΑΛΑΙΝ	„	NICO.		hENRI	„	ΑΠΝΤÆ.
✚ ΙΟΑΥΙ	„	ΕΥΕΡW.		RENAVIO	„	NO.

Note, first, that the two last coins have the first two curls enclosing pellets, and one without, on each side of face; and the second, three curls on each side of face, each enclosing a pellet.

And, secondly, that several coins with floreated or ornamented letters, such as those of

ΑΒΕΛ	ON	LVNDÆ.	|	ILGER	ON	LVNDÆ.
(Pl. XI. Fig. 5.)			|	WALTÆR	„	ΑΠΝ.

belong to this type.

Type IV. (Pl. XI., Fig. 4) has a face shorter and more compact than the preceding, representing, apparently, a

person of mature age. On each side of the face there are usually three curls, somewhat smaller than those on Type III., and, for the most part, not enclosing pellets. There are, generally, beard and whiskers, and traces of moustachio. The diadem has four pearls, and the sceptre is disposed as usual. The coins struck by

HENRI ON ANT.
ELIS ,, LVNDEN.

are good examples.

Besides these leading types, there are a few specimens which are not readily classed in any of the preceding groups, and which may, perhaps, be attributed to accident rather than to any definite intention. Thus, the three following coins,

EVERARD ON V.
LEIS ,, LVLNE (probably for ELIS ON LVNDEN)

and a coin with no moneyer's name, which reads LVNDEN CIVITAS, have a five-pointed *star-pomellée* (Pl. XI., No. 8), instead of the usual *Cross-pommée*, in the centre of the diadem. Occasionally, too, we find such blunders as DENRICVS for HENRICVS (Pl. XI., Fig. 9). The faces, too, of these coins differ in some ways from those on any of the above-mentioned types. Two others,

HENRI ON LVND.
FVLKE ,, LVND.

have the peculiarity of the sceptre in the left hand (Pl. XI., No. 7), the portraits resembling those on Type I.

I may remark that the above main divisions are represented in Mr. Longstaffe's Plate (Num. Chron., N. S., vol. ii. pl. v.) as follows:—Type I. fig. 6; Type II. fig. 3; Type III. figs. 10, 12; Type IV. fig. 13; and that Mr. Longstaffe has noticed some fourteen varieties.

Let us now examine the evidence we have with regard

to the appropriation of the short-cross pennies, and whether the occurrence of this large hoard throws any light upon this much-disputed question.

Now, I think it must be admitted (from the discovery made by the Rev. Mr. Haigh, in the Patent Rolls) that William Ta (the Tailor, Gulielmus Scissor) succeeded Simon Chick as moneyer at Canterbury in 14 Henry III., *i.e.* A.D. 1230; and that the Adam and Richard are probably the Adam de Bedley and Richard de Neketon who, Madox shows, were moneyers in London in the same year. Further we know that Ilger, the king's goldsmith, was "*custos monetæ*" in 6 Hen. III., A.D. 1222. I think, therefore, we are justified, by documentary evidence, in assuming that some, if not all, of the short-cross money coined by Simon Chick, and all those made by his successor, William the Tailor, at Canterbury, together with the London money of Ilger, Adam, and Richard (if, indeed, the last two bore, respectively, as seems likely, the surnames of Bedley and Neketon), belong to the reign of Henry III. and not to that of Henry II. With these names direct historical testimony ceases; and, if any more of the short-cross pennies are to be given to Henry III., this attribution must be deduced from a comparison of other specimens with the coins presumably struck by the above-mentioned moneyers.

Now, in examining the collection in the Museum, I have not found any specimen actually bearing the name of Simon Chick; so that there may be a doubt whether the coins simply reading Simon are really those of Simon Chick, especially as the Christian name is common enough, and occurs in other towns. But though we do not find Simon Chick, we have several coins bearing that of Joan Chic, all, too, struck at Canterbury; and as this surname

is not met with elsewhere, it seems fair to suppose that Joan and Simon were of the same family. There is also this to be said in favour of this supposition, that the portraits on the coins of Joan are all alike (of the class we have called Type III.), and that this, too, is the most common, though not the invariable type of Simon's coins. I believe, therefore, that we shall not be very far from correct if we add the money of Joan Chic to those which, for the reasons given above, we have assigned to the reign of Henry III. But, besides the coins reading Joan Chic, there are a considerable number which read simply Joan; and which are, at the same time, precisely similar to those of Joan Chic. These, too, must, I think, be classed with the above, and considered to belong to Henry III. rather than to Henry II. Whether or not Johan, Johan . B., and Johan . M., are to be considered as the same as Joan, I will not pretend to determine. Certain, however, it is that they belong to Series III. The coins of Simon exhibit the following modifications of spelling:—

SIMON ON CANT.	SIMVN ON CANTÆ.
✚ SIMVN „ CANT.	— „ CANTÆR.
SIMVN „ CANT.	SI . MVN „ CANTÆ.
✚ SIMVN „ CANT.	SINVN „ CANT . T.

and those of Joan the following:—

IOAN ON CANT.	IOAN ON CANT . TÆR.
— „ CANT . T.	— „ CANTÆR.
— „ CANTÆ.	— „ CANTÆR.

I confess I do not see how the direct statement of Matthew Paris, that the long-cross type was adopted by Henry III. in A.D. 1248, with a view of rendering the practices of the clippers and forgers less easy, can be wholly ignored, or that his authority ought to be undervalued or set aside because he does not give full descriptions of these coins:

moreover his assertion is, in some degree, confirmed by the adoption of this type by Alex. III. of Scotland, in A.D. 1250. If this, then, be true, either some of the short-cross coins hitherto given to Henry II. exclusively must belong to some period in the first thirty-two years of Henry III., or a whole coinage must somehow have disappeared. Now, though such a disappearance does seem to have been the case with the English money of John and Richard, it is better not to have recourse to such an hypothesis, when it is not absolutely necessary. Clearly there is no sufficient reason for supposing that Henry III. struck no coins at all without the numerals, though it may be true that those bearing III., or TERCI, are assignable to him with the most certainty. If these views, therefore, be correct, or at least admitted as reasonable, I would suggest the following as a possible arrangement of those coins which, for the reasons assigned, I am inclined to give to Henry III. :—

Ilger, London, A.D. 1222.

Simon Chick, Canterbury, before A.D. 1230.

William Tailor, Canterbury, A.D. 1230.

Adam (de Bedley) }
Richard (de Neketon) } London, A.D. 1230.

Joan Chick, Canterbury, uncertain, but probably about A.D. 1230.

On the other hand, there is not less strong evidence for appropriating *some* of the short-cross pennies to Henry II. Thus Sir Henry Ellis, in 1837, was able to demonstrate that certain moneyers (Aschetil and Lantier of Wilton), whose coins were discovered in the Tealby find, unquestionably belonged to Henry II., as their names are given in the Chancellor's Roll of 11 Hen. II. (A.D. 1165), and are there stated to have been the Royal moneyers in that town. The presumption, therefore, is strong that

other money found in the Tealby hoard, besides those of Aschetil and Lantier, were coined by Henry II.; and, more than this, that the specimens in the Tealby find belong to a period antecedent to the coming of Philip Aimer, in A.D. 1180, and thus form a part of Henry II.'s first coinage of A.D. 1156. I am quite willing to admit that this statement cannot be absolutely proved with regard to the whole of them: at the same time it seems to me more probable than many of the hypotheses which have been started. Now, on examining the coins of Aimer and Filaimer—of which the National Collection possesses five specimens—I can detect no difference between them, but must conclude that they were struck by one and the same person. They are also of rude execution, and belong to what we have called Types I. and II. Again, it seems to be stated on good authority that, though plenty of short-cross coins have been found in Ireland, no coins have as yet been met with that can with certainty be given to Henry III.: hence the natural conclusion that this ruler did not coin *all* the short-cross money, though he may have coined some. The same conclusion may, I think, be deduced from the further fact that the same moneyers' names are seldom met with at the same places on both the short and the long cross money; which would show that *all* the short-cross types cannot be attributed to the king who coined the long cross, and that some of them must be given to an earlier monarch.

With regard to the roundness of several of the Tealby find, I can hardly think, with Mr. Bergne, that any argument can be founded thereon. Grant that some of the specimens do look a little as if they had been struck in a collar—in other words, correspond with Ralph de Diceto's statement, that the money of Henry II. was

round—still, as it seems to me, there are many specimens too irregular in their shape to have been made in a collar; a statement which applies with equal force to the presumed later money of Aimer and Filaimer. It is, of course, possible that many of these coins have since been injured by clipping; still, however, there are some which are perfectly round; and yet, with rare exceptions, in all other ways decidedly inferior to the specimens in the Eccles find.

Assuredly, if, as I believe, an argument can be founded either on their relative state of preservation, or on the workmanship of the coins in the Tealby and Eccles find respectively, I should have no hesitation in giving the whole of the first to the early part of Henry II., and a considerable number of the second to the coinage of A.D. 1180.

With reference to the occurrence of the same moneyers' names on the presumed early and later coins of Henry II., I do not think much can be inferred one way or the other from this fact.

It seems generally admitted that it was the custom for the moneyer's office to be handed down in particular families, and for the names of grandfathers and fathers to be reproduced on the money of their later descendants. Moreover it should be remembered that a large majority of the names so reproduced are among the commonest of English Christian names. I must confess that I do not myself set much store on the comparison of the names of the mint towns and moneyers in the different series of coins alluded to in the foregoing paper, whether they be really those of Henry II. or of Henry III. As, however, I find that some of my Numismatic friends attach much interest to such an investigation, I will set down here, as briefly as I can, the results of such comparisons as I have

been able to make of the towns and moneyers of each series at present preserved in the National Museum. In doing so, I beg to state that—simply for the purpose of such a comparison—I call—

Series I. The Tealby type, which is generally admitted to belong to Henry II.

Series II. Those coins I have attributed to Philip Aymary and his followers.

Series III. Those coins I have assigned to the first coinage of Henry III.

Series IV. The coins of Henry III., with long cross and sceptre.

Series V. The coins of Henry III., with long cross, but without sceptre.

Now, on comparing the First and Second Series, I find that in the First there are *thirty* mint towns; in the Second, *twenty*; and that of these, *fourteen* occurring in Series I. are not met with in Series II.; while, on the other hand, Series II. exhibits *three* mint towns of which we have no representations in Series I. In the case of the *moneyers*, I find only *eight* common to both series, and coining money at the same places; while there are no less than *twenty-one* whose names are the same, but their places of mintage different; and, more than this, that there are sixty-two moneyers' names in Series I. which are not found at all in Series II.

Secondly, when we come to compare Series II. and III. together, I find that of the *sixteen* towns in Series III. all except *three* are met with in Series II.; while on the other hand, Series II. has *seven* towns not found in Series III. Series I. contains all these *sixteen* towns with the exception of Chichester, and has moreover *seventeen* places

of mintage which do not occur in Series III. On comparing the names of moneyers, I find *twenty-five* in Series III. which are not represented in Series II., and *twenty-one* whose names are the same in both series. Further, I observe that of the moneyers who bear the same name, *thirteen* occur at the same places in each series ; while a considerable number who coined at the same places are found also at towns widely separated the one from the other.

When we come to Series IV.—the admitted coins of Henry III., with long cross and sceptre—I notice that there are in all only *nine* mint towns, and that of these *four* are the same in Series III. and IV. ; *twelve* occur in Series III., but not in Series IV. ; while *five* are met with in Series IV., but are not found in Series III. With regard to the moneyers, I find *twenty-seven* in Series III. and not in Series IV. ; *six* in both series, and at the same place ; *five* also in both series, but at different places ; and *three* in Series IV. which are not found in Series III.

Lastly, when we come to Series V.—the admitted coins of Henry III., with the long cross, *without* the sceptre—I find *nineteen* places in all where coins were struck ; that, of these, *fifteen* are in Series V. and not in Series IV. ; *four* both in Series IV. and V. ; and *five* in Series IV. which are not found in Series V. And on comparing the moneyers in Series IV. and V., I observe that there are *twelve* in Series V. which are not seen in Series IV. ; *five* the same and at the same places in each series ; and *seven* the same in each series, but coining at different places.

Such is, I believe, a fair *resumé* of the facts of the case. The value of the results deducible therefrom I am content to leave to others.

Now, with regard to the further separation or appropriation of the short-cross pennies, I stated in an earlier part of this paper that, in the absence of documentary or historical evidence, the only thing we could rely on would be a reasoning from analogy—that is, by comparing the rest of the short-cross coins, as closely as we can, with the specimens of the money of Ilger, Simon Chick, &c., which we have already given, on historical grounds, to the reign of Henry III. The marked differences in workmanship that I have noticed between the coins thus given to Henry III., led me to suspect that equal, if not greater differences among those of the other types might, possibly, lead to a similar classification. Thus I could not help agreeing with the views put forward many years ago by Major (now Major-General) Yorke Moore, with reference to the apparent age of the portraits on many of these coins. It is quite true that anything like real portraiture is wholly wanting on all of our early coins: indeed, can hardly be said to exist earlier than the time of Henry VII. Still if we find, with remarkable uniformity, on a series of coins such as those of Ilger, a physiognomy manifestly intended for that of a very young man, and on another series a set of faces as clearly those of an old or middle-aged personage, it seems not too much to assume that these mark different periods of one and the same reign, or exhibit attempted portraits of different kings. It must be remembered that I am not arguing in favour of any portraits, meaning by these, real likenesses; both young and old have probably little or no resemblance to their originals: all I wish to say is, that a well-marked difference does exist, which is not sufficiently explained by merely saying that no portrait at all was intended by the artist who made the dies. Now, in following out this

analogical train of reasoning, and by comparing each individual coin, I have arrived at this apparent conclusion—that the four leading types we have already adopted may practically be reduced to two; in other words, that Types I. and II. represent varieties of the same king's face, though for determination of age they are generally too rude for any opinion to be expressed on this head: and that Types III. and IV. represent the portraits of another and the same king, with this additional distinction, that Type III. is that of an youthful personage, Type IV., on the other hand, that of an older man.

Now, on referring to the coins of Aimer and Filaimer (which, as I have already said, are absolutely identical), I can have no doubt that they belong to the older and ruder specimens of Types I. and II.; and that if Types III. and IV. have, with any fair reasoning, been given to the reign of Henry III., all other specimens closely resembling those of Aimer should be given to an earlier king, and, like Aimer's, to Henry II. On continuing this comparison I have found that in the collection of the Eccles find, which has been deposited in the National Museum, there are about 204 specimens, belonging to eighteen towns and eighty moneyers, which are so like the Aimer types that it is impossible to believe they have nothing in common with them. These, then, on the assumption that Aimer and Filaimer represent the Philip Aymary who was brought to England in A.D. 1180, I consider to be the money of Henry II.'s second great coinage; it being, moreover, not unlikely that, as Aimer was specially appointed to the London mint, the types he adopted there should have been sent to various country mints for the guidance of the local moneyers. No one, I think, looking at these coins, could believe on Numismatic authority that

they were issued at the same time as, or under the same auspices as, the Tealby type (Series I.), or under the superintendence of Ilger and Simon Chick (Series III.).

Again, when I apply the same principles of analogical reasoning to the remaining specimens of this collection, and compare them with the types of Simon Chick and William Tailor, I find there are about 412 specimens, belonging to 15 towns and 107 moneyers, which are as alike to the above, as the other class is to the money of Aimer. These, therefore, I assign to Henry III. All these coins belong to our Types III. and IV., and cannot, I think, be attributed to the same reign as those in Series I. and II., even when, as is rarely the case, the moneyers are the same, by any evidence derivable from numismatic comparison. Here then, if the data I have assumed are felt by other numismatists to have the weight they seem to me to have, we obtain, at least, a principle on which the great mass of the short-cross pennies *may* be arranged.

I have not deemed it advisable to increase the length of this paper by any inquiry as to whether the coins I have ventured to assign to Henry II. are themselves subdivisible into two or more classes, though I am inclined to think that this is possible; nor have I felt it necessary to examine into the grounds on which Mr. Longstaffe, in his very able paper, has attributed many of the short-cross pennies to the reigns of Richard and John, which are at present barren of English money. Both these questions I may refer to more fully on a subsequent occasion. In the meantime I will only say that I do not feel convinced by Mr. Longstaffe's arguments that he has really succeeded in filling up this gap in the English numismatic series; and that, so far as I have at present looked into

the question, I should rather give to the second coinage of Henry II. the majority of the specimens he would refer to Richard.

In conclusion, I wish to state that throughout this inquiry I have been greatly assisted by the patient care and good judgment of my colleague, Mr. Head; and I trust the Society, as well as myself, will feel the debt they owe to him for the time and the labour he has given to the interpretation and classification of the long series of the Eccles find.

The following is a list of the specimens which have been added to the National Collection from this find:—

BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

FVLKÆ	ON S. .AND.	RÆVF	ON STANTÆ.
—	„ S. .ADM.	—	„ STANTAD.
—	„ S. .AD.	— :	„ STANTÆ.
FVKE	„ S. .ADM.	SIMVND	„ STANT.
FOLKE	„ S. .ADM.	WILLÆLM	„ STAN.
NORMAN	„ STANT.	—	„ STANT.
NOR . MAN .	„ STAN .		

CANTERBURY.

ÆRNÆVD	ON CÆ.	hVÆ	ON CÆ . NTÆ.
—	„ CÆN.	—	„ CÆN . T.
COLDWINGÆ	„ CÆ.	hIVN	„ CÆNT.
—	„ CÆ.	—	„ CÆNTÆ.
COLDWIC	„ CÆ.	IVN	„ CÆNT.
hÆNRI	„ CÆN.	—	„ CÆNTÆ.
—	„ CÆNT.	—	„ CÆNTÆR.
RIONCÆNT	ÆN	— O	CÆNTÆR.
	(blundered).	— ON	CÆNTÆRD.
hÆNRI	ON hÆNT	—	„ CÆN . TÆR . D.
	(double struck).	IOÆN	„ CÆNT.
—	„ CÆNTÆ.	—	„ CÆN . T.
hÆN . RI	„ CÆNTÆ.	—	„ CÆNTÆ.
hÆN . RL	„ CÆN . TÆ	—	„ CÆN . TÆR.
hNÆRI	„ CÆNTÆ.	—	„ CÆNTÆR.
+ hVÆ	„ CÆN . T.	—	ÆN ON CÆI.
+ —	„ CÆNTÆ.		(double struck).

IOHAN	ON	CTTER.	ROGER. OF. R. ON
IOHAN.	Chic	CT.	STAMVEL ON C.
IOHAN	„	CTN.	— „ CT.
✚ —	—	—	— „ CTN.
✚ —	—	CTNT.	— „ CTNT.
—	—	CTNTæ	— „ CTæ.
	(double struck).	—	STLEMY „ CTN.
— B	„	CT.	SIMON „ CTNT.
— M	„	—	✚ SIMVN „ CTN :
MAINIE	„	CTNT.	— „ CTN.
NORMAN	„	CTN.	✚ S — „ CTNT
OSMVND	„	CTN.	(double struck).
OSNVND	„	CTNT.	SINVN „ CTN . T.
ROBET	„	CTNT.	SI . MVN „ CTNTæ.
✚ ROBERD	„	CT.	SIMVN „ CTNTæ.
ROBERT	„	CTN.	SIMVN „ CTNTæ.
ROBERD	„	—	TOMAS „ CTN.
ROBERD	„	—	— „ CTN . T.
ROBERD	„	CTNT.	— „ CTNT.
RIOE . . .	„	CTNT.	— „ CTNTæ.
ROGER	„	CTN . T.	VLARD „ CTN.
—	„	CTNTæ.	— „ CTNT.
ROGER OF	„	CTN.	WALTER „ CT.
ROGER. OF.	„	CTN.	— „ CAI.
ROGE OF R	„	CT.	— „ CTN.
ROGER OF R ON CTN.	—	—	— „ —
ROGER OF R ON C.	—	—	WATER „ CTNT.
ROGER. OF. R. „ CT.	—	—	WALTIER „ CT.
ROGER. OF. R. „ C.	—	—	WILLAN . TT ON CT.

CARLISLE.

ALAIN ON CTR.

TOMAS ON CTR.

CHICHESTER.

EVERARD ON C.

PIERES ON CICA.

— „ CI.

✚ RAVLF „ CICA.

PIERES „ CICA.

SIMON „ CICA.

DURHAM.

ALAIN ON DVRO.

✚ PERES . ON DVR :

EXETER.

IOHAN ON ECC.

OSBER ON EXE.

GILBERT „ EC.

ILCHESTER?

hÆRNÆVD ON I.

IPSWICH.

ÆLISÆNDREÆ ON G.

IOhÆN ON GIPÆ.

LINCOLN.

✚ ÆLÆIN	ON NICO.	RAVE	ON NICOL.
ÆNDREÆV	„ NICO.	✚ RICÆRD	„ —
ÆNDREÆV	„ NID.	TOMÆS	„ NICO.
✚ ÆNDREÆ	„ NICO.	—	„ NICOL.
ÆDMVND	„ NICOL.	WILLÆLM	„ NICOL.
hVÆ	„ —		

LONDON.

ÆBEL. ON LVNDÆ.	✚ FOLKE	ON LVND.
— „ —	hÆNRIC	„ LVN.
— „ LUND.	—	„ LVND.
— „ LVN.	hÆNRI	„ LVNDÆ.
— „ LVNDÆN.	—	„ LVND.
ÆOTÆM „ LVNDÆ.	—	„ LVNDI.
(double struck.)	—	„ LVN.
— „ LVNÆ.	✚ hÆNRI	„ LVND.
ÆIMÆR ON LVNDÆ.	✚ hÆNRI	„ LV
— „ LVND.	✚ hÆNRI	„ LVNDÆ.
ÆLÆIN. V „ LVND.	✚ hÆNRI	„ LVNDÆ.
BÆNÆIT „ LVNDÆ.	IÆFRÆI	„ LVND.
— „ LVND.	IÆÆR	„ —
DÆVI „ LVND.	IOhÆN	„ LVNDÆ.
ÆLIS „ LVN. DÆ.	ILÆÆR	„ LVN.
Æ. LIS „ LVNDÆ.	—	„ LVND.
ÆLIS „ LVNDÆN.	—	„ LVNDÆ.
— „ LVNDÆ.	—	„ LVNDÆ.
LEIS „ LVLNÆ.	—	„ LVNDÆ.
(ÆLIS ON LVNDÆ?)	ILÆÆRÆR	„ LVNDÆN.
hÆLIS ON LVN. D.	—	„ LVND.
hÆ. LIS „ LVN. DÆ.		(double struck.)
FIÆTIMÆR „ LVN.	PIÆRÆS	„ LVND.
FVLKÆ „ LVND.	PIÆRÆS. M. ON LVN.	
— „ LVNDÆN.	RAVE	„ LVNDÆ.
— „ LVND.	—	ON LVN. DÆ.
✚ FVLKÆ „ LVND.	—	„ LVNDÆ.
✚ — „ LVND.	—	„ LVN.
✚ FOLKÆ „ LVND.	—	„ LVNDÆ.

RATLE	ON LV. D.	WALGER	ON LW.
—	„ LVN.	WALTER	„ LV.
—	„ LVN. D.	—	„ LW.
—	„ LVND.	—	„ LVND.
—	„ LVNDæ.	—	„ LVNDæ.
—	„ LVNDæ.	WALTER	„ LV.
RATL	„ LVNDæ.	—	„ LW.
RANER	„ LVNDæ.	—	„ LVNDæ.
RANER	„ LVN.	WATER	„ LVN.
RICARD	„ LVN.	—	„ LVND.
—	„ LVND.	—	„ LVNDæ.
—	„ LVND.	WILLAM	„ LVND.
—	„ LVNDI.	+ WILLAM	„ LV.
—	„ LW.	+ WILAM	„ LV.
+ —	„ LW.	+ WILAM	„ ONLY.
+ —	„ LV.	WILLAM. B.	„ LV.
RICARD. B.	„ LV.	— T.	„ LVND.
+ RICARD	„ LV.	+ WILLALM	„ LV.
STIVENæ	„ LV.	+ —	„ LW.
—	„ LW.	—	„ LV.
—	„ LVND.	—	„ LW.
TERRI	„ LVN.	—	„ LVN.
TERRI	„ LVD.	—	„ LVND.
—	„ LVND.	—	„ LVND.
TERR. RI.	„ LVN. D.	— B.	„ LVN.
TERR. RION	LVNDæ.	— B.	„ LW.
TERR. RI. ON	LVN. Dæ.	— L.	„ LW.
TERR. RIONLVN.		— T.	„ L.
TERR. RION	LVN. D.	— T.	„ LV.

LYNN.

IOHAN ON LANæ. | IOHAN ON LANN.

NORTHAMPTON.

FILIP	ON NORh.	RATL	ON NORh.
hVGO	„ NORhT.	ROBERD	„ NORh.

NORWICH.

GIFERæI	ON NOR.	IOHAN	ON NORY.
GIFRæI	„ NORY.	+ IOHAN	„ NORW.
—	„ NORW.	ROBERD. T.	„ NOR.

EITHER NORTHAMPTON OR NORWICH.

RANDVL	ON NO.	ROBERD	ON NO.
RAINVD	„ NO.	ROBERD. T.	„ NOR.
RAINLID	„ NOR.	—	„ NO.
RANVD	„ NOR.	WALTER	„ NOR.

OXFORD.

h��NRI ON O��S��.	MIL��S ON O��S��N.
��FR��I �� O��S.	�� �� O��S��N.
��FR��I �� OX��N��.	RIC��RD �� OX��N��.

ROCHESTER.

��LIST��NDR�� ON R.	h��VN��R��I ON RO.
��LIST��NDOR �� RO.	h��VN��R��I �� RO.
��LIST��N �� ROY.	

RHUDDLAN.?

�� SIMON ON RVL��.	SIMON��D ON RVL��.
�� SIMON��D �� RVL��.	

SHREWSBURY.

IV   ON S  LOP.

WORCESTER.

OS  R ON WIR  .

WILTON.

OS��R ON WILT��.	OS��R ON WILT.
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WINCHESTER.

��D��M	ON WIN���.	OS��R	ON WIN��.
��NDR��V	�� WIN.	R��VF	�� WIN���.
��LE��RENT	�� WIN.		�� WIN��.
��O���LM	�� ��	R��IN���R	�� WIN��.
	�� WIN��.	RIC��RD	�� WI.
�� h��NRI	�� WN���.		�� WNI.
�� IO���N	�� WIN.	RIC��RD	�� WN.
LVK��S	�� WIN.	RODB��RT	�� WIN��.
�� MIL��S	�� WIN��.		�� WIN.
OS���RN	�� WIN.	WILL���LM	�� WIN.
OS��R	�� WIN���.	WILL	�� WN.

W. S. W. VAUX.

XIII.

THE SHORT-CROSS QUESTION.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, October 19th, 1865.]

THE interest which has been excited among numismatists by the discovery of the large hoard of short-cross pennies at Eccles, of which a detailed account has been given to this society by Mr. Vaux and Mr. Head, seems to render the present time favourable for passing under review the question of the attribution of these pieces, while the information to be derived from a careful examination of so large an assemblage of coins may assist in determining what is the proper solution of the question.

I propose, therefore, briefly to recapitulate the opinions of various authors as to the monarch under whom they suppose these short-cross pennies to have been struck: and then to examine the various methods we have at our command to determine the period to which they are to be assigned.

It is, perhaps, needless to cite the opinions of our earliest numismatic writers, but I may mention that a double-struck short-cross penny is engraved as being of Richard I., by ¹ Speed; and that ² Leake, ³ Bishop Fleet-

¹ *Historie*, 2nd ed., 1623, p. 529.

² *Nummi Britannici*, 1st ed., 1729, p. 12; 2nd ed., 1745, p. 54.

³ *Chronicon Preciosum*, App. pl. i.

wood, and Wise⁴ assign the short-cross pennies to Henry II., and those with the long cross to Henry III.

Withy and Ryall⁵ (or rather Mr. White) regard the short-cross pennies as having been struck by Henry III. before his thirty-second year, and the long-cross pennies as having been issued after that time. Martin Folkes⁶ and Mr. North were also of the same opinion, in which they were followed by Ruding.⁷ At a later period Mr. Hawkins⁸ considered the short-cross coins to belong to the second coinage of Henry II., and assigned none but long-cross coins to Henry III. Mr. Sainthill,⁹ however, and Mr. Haigh dissented from this attribution, and showed cause why the short-cross coins should be assigned to Henry III. Mr. Sainthill also published a most valuable list of the moneymen whose names appear on both the long and the short-cross coins, but most unfortunately, though he¹⁰ subsequently recognised the fact that there are at least three distinct varieties of bust upon the short-cross coins, he did not do so in time to distinguish the different moneymen whose names appear upon the different varieties, and several inaccuracies, both as to towns and names of moneymen, have crept into the lists. Numerous writers in the Numismatic Chronicle have also entered into the controversy; among them may be mentioned Mr. Haigh,¹¹ who maintained the same views as he advocated in the "Olla Podrida;" the Rev. Henry Christmas,¹² who fol-

⁴ Nummi Bodleiani, 1750, pl. xix.

⁵ Eng. Silver Coins., 1756, pl. v.

⁶ Tables, 1773, p. 7.

⁷ Annals, ed. 1840, vol. i. p. 182.

⁸ Silver Coins of England, 1840, p. 87.

⁹ Olla Podrida, vol. i. p. 124.

¹⁰ Oll. Pod., vol. ii. p. 58.

¹¹ Num. Chron., 1844, vol. iv. pp. 71 and 201.

¹² Num. Chron., vol. vii., p. 138.

lowed upon the same side; Major (now Major-General) Moore,¹³ who disputed their conclusions, and adopted the views of Mr. Hawkins; and Mr. Bergne,¹⁴ who, after an elaborate examination of the question, assigned the short-cross pennies to Henry III., and suggested that the coins of the Tealby type (Hawkins, No. 285) may be of the second coinage of Henry II. in 1180.

In the New Series of the Numismatic Chronicle, Mr. Sainthill¹⁵ has communicated an account of a hoard of short-cross pennies found at Newry, which he still assigned to Henry III.; and the Rev. A. Pownall,¹⁶ who has added materially to the list of the moneyers whose names appear on the coins, and especially of those who struck with the cross-pommée mint-mark, has given an account of a hoard found in Yorkshire. His opinion was in favour of some of the short-cross coins being regarded as those of Henry III., and others as those of his grandfather, Henry II.

But by far the most important memoir is that by Mr. Longstaffe,¹⁷ on the "Northern Evidence on the Short-Cross Question," in which, mainly from documentary evidence, he arrived at the conclusion that the issue of the short-cross pennies bearing the name of Henry, commenced under Henry II., was continued under Richard I. and John, and ceased in 1247 under Henry III., when the long-cross type was adopted. Among the other than documentary evidence adduced by Mr. Longstaffe, he insists, and with reason, upon the great diversity of the bust, and of the workmanship observable on the coins,

¹³ Num. Chron., vol. x. p. 21.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 26.

¹⁵ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. i. p. 204.

¹⁶ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. i. p. 206; vol. iii. p. 189.

¹⁷ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iii. p. 162.

and goes so far as to assign the different varieties to the different monarchs under whom they appear to have been struck. As his paper must be in the hands of every one interested in this question, I shall not attempt any farther analysis of it, especially as I shall have hereafter to refer to it, and to some extent travel over the same ground, making use also of some of Mr. Longstaffe's arguments and authorities, without possibly in all cases being able to make due acknowledgment for them.

In approaching the question of the date of the short-cross coins, the first point we have to determine is the period during which there is any possibility of their having been issued; that is to say, to assign limits before and after which they cannot have been struck.

In one direction this limit is readily found, for all our chronicles agree in fixing the issue of the long-cross type in the year 1247 or 1248. Matthew Paris, John de Wallingforde, and John de Oxenedes,¹⁸ have each given sketches of the coin in the margin of their chronicles, and the reason assigned for the prolongation of the cross to the margin of the coin is the prevention of clipping.¹⁹ The limit in the other direction, though it has been to some extent called in question by Mr. Bergne,²⁰ can, I think, also be definitely assigned. Chroniclers agree in recording that there were in the reign of Henry II. two great re-coinages of money. The first of these took place about the year

¹⁸ Chron. Joh. de Oxenedes, edited by Sir Henry Ellis, pp. xxv. and 160. See also Ann. de Burton, s. a. 1247; Ann. de Winton, s. a. 1247; Barth. Cotton de Rege Hen. III., s. a. 1247; Chron. Major. et Vice-Com. Lond. (Camden Soc.), s. a. 1247; Chronica de Mailros, s. a. 1247.

¹⁹ Ann. de Waverleia, s. a. 1247.

²⁰ Num. Chron., vol. x. p. 39.

1158,²¹ the second about 1180.²² Hoveden²³ places these coinages in the second and twenty-sixth years of Henry II., or 1156 and 1180; but most of the chronicles give the years 1158 and 1180.

In the ²⁴preface to the Chronicle of John de Oxenedes, Sir Henry Ellis makes the following remarks on this point, which I cannot do better than transcribe. "In the reign of Henry the Second two periods of coinage are mentioned, not only by John de Oxenedes, but by most of our historians, in the briefest manner. Of the first, under the year 1158, it is said, '*Nova moneta fabricata est in Anglia.*' Of the second, under the year 1180, '*Nova moneta fabricata est.*'

"Benedict, Abbot of Peterborough, who lived at the time, is the only writer who gives a rather more extended notice of this last coinage. He says, '*Eodem anno, scilicet ab Incarnatione Domini 1180, Henricus Rex Angliæ fecit in Angliâ novam monetam fieri, et præcepit quod à festo Sancti Martini non caperetur alia moneta in Anglia quam illa nova; vetus namque moneta corrupta fuit et rex monetarios redemit; id est ad redemptionem coegit.*' The coins of the former sovereigns were withdrawn from circulation."

The first of these coinages Sir Henry recognises in the coins found at Tealby, the second he considers to have been unquestionably of the short-cross type.

²¹ Barth. Cott. de R. Hen. II., s. a. 1158; Chron. Joh. de Oxenedes, s. a. 1158. See also Ruding, vol. i. p. 170.

²² Chron. Walteri Hemingford, s. a. 1180; Bart. Cotton de R. Hen. II., s. a. 1180; Chron. Joh. de Oxenedes, s. a. 1180; Annales Cambriæ, s. a. 1181; Ann. de Wintonia, s. a. 1179; Ann. de Waverleia, s. a. 1180. See also Ruding, vol. i. p. 171. Chron. Petrobургense, Camden Soc., s. a. 1179.

²³ Hoveden, p. 282—597, p. 491.

²⁴ p. xvii.

The proofs adduced by Mr. Taylor Combe to show that the Tealby coins were those of Henry II., will be found in Ruding²⁵ and the *Archæologia*.²⁶ Sir Henry Ellis, however, has shown that Aschetil and Lantier, whose names appear on Tealby coins of the Wilton mint, are mentioned under the names of Anschetil and Lantier in the chancellor's roll of the eleventh year of Henry II. as moneyers at Wilton; and as this was in the year 1165, or fifteen years before the coinage of 1180, the presumption that the Tealby coins were struck between 1158 and 1180 becomes almost a certainty, especially when it is considered that if we do not admit the Tealby type as that of the first coinage of Henry II., we have no other to assign to it. As an additional proof that this type has been rightly appropriated, I will add that the name of Turstan, who was one of the moneyers of the Tealby type at Thetford (TVRSTEIN ON TEFF, &c.), is mentioned as one of the moneyers of that place in the fourteenth year of Henry II. (1168).²⁷ Lefwine Besant and Ailwine Finch,²⁸ moneyers of London, also paid that same year five and two marks respectively towards an aid, "ad filiam regis maritandam." Their names, too, appear on the Tealby coins as ALWINE ON LVND and LEFWINE ON LVN. In the same manner, William, the moneyer of Carlisle, whom we find on the Tealby coins as WILLEM ON CARDV, is mentioned in the roll²⁹ of the sixteenth year of Henry II. (1170), and Mr. Longstaffe has adduced other evidence to show that William, who had leased a mine near Carlisle from the year 1156, became

²⁵ Vol. i. p. 172.

²⁶ Vol. xviii. p. 2.

²⁷ Mag. Rot. 14, H. 2; Madox, Hist. Exch. p. 410.

²⁸ Madox, p. 410.

²⁹ Madox, p. 389.

bankrupt about 1179 or 1180, and was succeeded in 1181 by Alan, of whom no Tealby coins are known.

Against such cumulative evidence it is impossible to stand, and we must therefore accept the Tealby type as representing the coinage of 1158, and agree with Sir Henry Ellis, that this type, more or less modified, must have existed from 1158 to 1180. That this type was that of the English coinage for a considerable length of time is proved by the fact⁸⁰ that among the hoard of upwards of 5,700 coins found at Tealby, minted at no less than twenty-nine different towns, not a single coin of any other type was present.

It may of course be urged that the new coinage of 1180 was only a re-coinage, and did not involve any change of type; but such a view is untenable, as the coins are spoken of as a "*nova moneta*," none other than which was to be current, so that there must have been some ready means of distinguishing them from the old coins. We know, moreover, that a new artist was employed for this coinage, "*Philippus Aymari natione Turo-nicus*." If therefore we are to place any faith in contemporary chronicles, there was a new coinage in 1180, on which the name of Henry II. would appear, and as the Tealby type is already appropriated, we are of necessity compelled to assign the only other type which can, with the slightest degree of probability, be attributed to Henry II., viz., that with the short cross, to this second coinage. We have, therefore, here the other limit which was sought for. The short-cross pennies cannot have been struck earlier than 1180, nor later than 1247.

But is there any record of any other coinages between

⁸⁰ *Archæologia*, vol. xviii., p. 1.

these dates? Undoubtedly there is. In the *Annales Cambriae*, under the year 1205, we read, "*Mutatio monetæ facta est*," and the same words occur in the *Annals of Waverley*, under the same year. It would appear, then, that after the cessation of the Tealby type, in 1180, there was one alteration if not more in the coinage before the introduction of the long-cross type in 1247.

We have now to consider what coins can be assigned to the issues during the period of sixty-seven years which intervened between those dates, and I think it may fairly be assumed that no coinage of such an extent that its first introduction was thought worthy of being recorded in the chronicles of the time, can by any possibility so entirely have disappeared that at the present day we have no traces of it. It has by some been supposed that the enormous sum of money paid for the ransom of Richard I. so entirely cleared the kingdom of money, that the whole coinage of that king had disappeared; but such a supposition is evidently absurd; though the speech of the German nobles, recorded by Bromton,³¹ shows that those who believed that this country would have been so easily drained of all its money, erred in good company. We must then assume that we have still extant all the types that were issued intermediate, in point of time, between the Tealby and the long-cross coins, and any one conversant with the English series must at once acknowledge that there are none but the short-cross coins to fill the interval. Had all the kings of England, during this period of sixty-seven years, been Henries, I do not think that any numismatist would have felt the slightest difficulty in tracing a chronological succession in the different varieties

³¹ Col. 1257. Ruding, vol. i. p. 174, note 2.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.



J. N. P. del. et sc.

SHORT-CROSS PENNIES.

of the short-cross type, and in assigning them, at all events approximately, to the different monarchs; for all will agree that there may be found quite as much difference in the style and workmanship of different short-cross coins as to constitute varieties quite as well marked as if the type had been distinct.

These varieties have already been described by Mr. Longstaffe with considerable minuteness. I am, however, for reasons which will subsequently appear, induced slightly to vary the succession which he has adopted, and to arrange the classes of coins as follows:—

I. Large well-spread coins; workmanship fair, though in but slight relief; five pearls in crown, usually two curls on dexter, five on sinister side, giving somewhat the appearance of the bust being three-quarter faced (see Pl. XI., No. 1). Occasionally the curls are more numerous and smaller, as many as seven or eight on one side, though the general appearance is preserved. There are some coins of this class having dots at intervals in the outer circle, like Pl. XI., No. 6. These appear to be the earliest coins. Others, by the coarseness of their workmanship, show a transition into the next class.

II. Coins rather reduced in size; workmanship coarser; usually more than five pearls in crown, or frequently a mere beaded line instead. The bust has the appearance of being full-faced, but the number of curls varies from four or five on a side down to a single curl, the number on each side being generally equal (see Pl. XI., No. 2). The eyes are sometimes represented by annulets and sometimes by pellets; the beard sometimes by pellets, sometimes by small crescents. Some full-faced coins of neater workmanship, and with three curls on each side, the lower ones enclosing pellets, appear to be intermediate between

this and the succeeding class. The coins, such as that engraved in Pl. XI., No. 7, also probably belong to this transitional period. Mr. Pownall suggests that the coins of these two first classes may be designated as of "the early short-cross type." Mr. Longstaffe also now regards the coins in this class as later than those in Class I.

III. Smaller coins, of neat workmanship, and in good relief, usually five (but very rarely seven) pearls in crown; two curls on each side, enclosing pellets; a long face, with the beard formed by straight strokes, and joining on to the curls. There are two or three varieties of bust on the coins of this class. The letters of the legend on the reverse are frequently linked into monograms.

IV. Bust similar to the last, but with more than two curls on one or both sides, though, as a rule, not exceeding three (see Pl. XI., No. 5). Sometimes the lower curl is extremely small (see Pl. XI., No. 3). The busts on some of the coins, with three curls on each side, show the transition into Class V.

These two classes might perhaps with more propriety be termed varieties of one class. Together they constitute what Mr. Pownall calls "the middle short-cross type."

To these two classes belong two varieties :—

A. Coins with the cross-pommée mint-mark. These as a rule are of good workmanship and relief. They usually present the peculiarity of the S on the obverse being reversed, S, and the REX is frequently divided by the sceptre RÆ—X, instead of as usual R—ÆX. The coins of this variety are characterised in the following tables by a †. When coins with the ordinary cross were also struck by the same moneyer a + is added.

B. Coins with ornamented letters. These constitute a variety not before noticed. The letters to which ornamented terminations have been given are the A and A,

the ends of which are frequently curled round, so as to enclose pellets, \mathbb{C} , and occasionally flourished, $\mathbb{C}\curvearrowright$. There are some coins with merely two dots placed after the \mathbb{C} : and \mathbb{C} : The π 's are also sometimes made ornamental \mathcal{A} , as in Pl. XI., No. 5, and the upright strokes of B's and D's and the transverse one of N's made double. The tails of the R's and h's are also often prolonged and curved. All these coins appear to belong to Class IV.

The moneyers who struck them are distinguished in the tables by an *.

V. Smaller coins still; workmanship neat, but the coins often carelessly struck; bust placed low down in inner circle, so as hardly to show any neck; curls, usually three on each side, and formed of crescents enclosing pellets; the pellets, however, often absent, and the curls sometimes only two on each side. (See Pl. XI., Nos. 4 and 9.) On one variety, probably intermediate between this and the preceding class, the neck is shown, and the chin terminates in a pellet. A number of coins of this class have pellets interspersed among the letters of the legend on the reverse, which very rarely occurs on the coins of the preceding class. The coins of this fifth class may be termed, as suggested by Mr. Pownall, of "the late short-cross type."

Such is a general view of the classes into which these short-cross pennies may readily be divided. There are, no doubt, many kinds presenting slight peculiarities, some of which seem to be intermediate between two of the classes described, if they do not constitute, like Plate XI., No. 7, a class by themselves. There are also the coins reading CIVITAS LVNDÆ on the reverse, which I need not here adduce.

Looking over a series of the coins arranged in the manner here proposed, it will be observed that Class I.

shades, by almost imperceptible degrees, into Class II., and that there is an extremely easy transition from Class III. into Class IV., and again from that into Class V., while the passage between Class II. and Class III. is far more abrupt; the workmanship of the latter being very much superior to that of the former. Whether or no the different classes of coins followed each other in the order I have proposed, and whether the whole five followed each other without any lengthened break in the coinage between the issue of one class of coins and another, may, I think, be determined by numismatic evidence. For if we find one moneyer commencing his coinage with Class I. and continuing it under Class II. and III., another commencing with Class II. and continuing it under Class III. and IV., and a third commencing under Class III., and striking also coins of Class IV. and V., we have evidence of a succession of moneyers striking successive varieties of type; while the fact that one moneyer struck as many as three classes of coins proves that there could have been no very lengthened interval between the issue of each.

In the following list of mints and moneyers, based on a personal examination of upwards of six thousand coins, I have arranged the latter in accordance with the classification above proposed, which is also that adopted by my friend, the Rev. Assheton Pownall, who has most kindly assisted me in the preparation of the list, and with many valuable suggestions. My thanks are also due to Mr. Longstaffe. I have not attempted to give all the varieties in the spelling of each moneyer's name, nor to notice all the slight peculiarities in the coins, my object on the present occasion being to give a general comprehensive view of the whole question without encumbering it too much with detail.

CANTERBURY.

I. MCINIR?	II. MCINIR. VLARD. GODWIC. BAINWLD. GOLDWINÆ. ROBERD. STAMVEL. IOHAN. SIMON.	III. +† GOLDWINÆ. +† ROBERD. +† STAMVEL. +† IOHAN. +† SIMON. TNDREY. IOHAN. B. IOHAN. M. †† TENDTVD. †† hyæ. hæNRL. ROGER. TOMTS. WILTÆR. hVN. STLGMVM.	IV. +† GOLDWINÆ. +† ROBERD. +† STAMVEL.* +† IOHAN.* +† SIMON.* †† TENDTVD. †† hyæ. hæNRL.* ROGER. TOMTS. WILTÆR.* IVN. +† NICHOLÆ.	V. IOHAN. SIMON. hæNRL. ROGER. TOMTS. WILTÆR. IVN. STLGMVN. NICHOLÆ. IOHAN CHIC. IOHAN F.R. NORMAN. OSMVND. ROGER OF R. WILLÆM TR.
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CARLISLE.				
I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
ALVIN.	ALVIN.	TOMTS.	TOMTS.	
CHICHESTER.				
	EVERARD. GOLDWING. REINTVVD.			
		PIERES. WILLIAM. RYVLF. SIMON.	+ RYVLF. SIMON.	
DURHAM.				
	ADAM? ALVIN. NICOLE? PIERES.	+ NICOLE? + PIERES.	PIERES.	PIERES.
EXETER.				
TSKATIL. TSRATIN. IORDVN. OSBER. ROGER. RICTRD.		+ RICTRD. GILABARD. IOHVN.		

IPSWICH.

ALISTANDRÆ. IOHAN.	ALISTANDRÆ.
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LENN OR LYNN.

IOHAN. NICOLÆ. WILLELM.	WILLELM.
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LICHFIELD.

IOHAN.

LINCOLN.

LEFWING.
ROBERT.
WALTER.
WILL. D. F.
EDMUND.
WILLELM.

EDMUND.
WILLELM.

hvg.
EAVF.
+ RICHARD.
TOMTS.
ANDRÆV.

+ ANDRÆV.
+ ALVIN.

LONDON.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
KLAIN. KLAIN. V. KLWTRD. TNDRAV. FIE. KIMBR. GILGERT. GODTRD. hENRI PI. IAFREL. OSBER. PIARAS M. RKNBYL. KIMBR. PIARAS. RAVL. RAINKLD. STIVANG. WILLALM. hENRI. IOHTN.	KIMBR. PIARAS. RAVL. RAINKLD. STIVANG. WILLALM. hENRI. RICTRD. FVLK. DAVI.	+† WILLALM. hENRI. +† RICTRD. +† FVLK. WTLTBR. WILLALM. L. BENGT. RENG. RICTRD B.	+† WILLALM. hENRI.* IOHTN. +† RICTRD.* +† FVLK. BENGT. RENG. RICTRD B.	RICTRD.

RICTRD T. WILLGLM B. WILLGLM T. WBEL. WDKM. ILGGR. EATVF. + NICHOLG.	RICTRD T. WILLGLM B. WILLGLM T. WBEL.* WDKM. ILGGR.* EATVF.*	WBEL. WDKM. ILGGR. EATVF. NICHOLG. GLIS. GIFFRGL. LGDVLF. TERRI.
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NORTHAMPTON.

ELIP.
hVGO.
RAYL.
WALTER.
hVGO?
RADDYL.
WALTER.
SIMVN?

ROBERD T.
ROBERD.
WDKM.

ROBERD.
WDKM.

NORWICH.

RGINVLD.

RGINVLD.
WILLGLM.
GIFFR.
IOHAN.

+ RGINVLD.

GIFFR.
IOHAN.
+ IOHAN.

RGINVLD.
GIFFR.
IOHAN.

OXFORD.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
ASKETIL. IGFRÆL. OWGAIN. RICTRD.		TILWINÆ. hænri. MILÆS.	hænri. MILÆS.	hællis.

ROCHESTER.

		ALISTANDRÆ. hvnferæi.	
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ST. EDMUND'S BURY.

		FVLKÆ. + IOh7AN. E7VVF.	FVLKÆ. + IOh7AN. E7VVF.*	E7VVF. NORM7AN. SIMVND. WILLÆLM.
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SHREWSBURY.

	IVÆ. WILLÆM.		
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WILTON.

OSBÆR.
RODBÆRT.

WINCHESTER.

CLAMANT.
REINIER.
OSBÆR.
RODBÆRT.
GOCÆLM.
WILLÆLM.
TODM.
EATVE.

GOCÆLM.
WILLÆLM.

PIRÆS.

TODM.
EATVE.

†† TODM.
EATVE.

BERTÆLMÆ.

†† MILÆS.

ANDRÆV.

†† IOHTN.
LYKTS.

RICARD.

ANDRÆV.

† IOHTN.
LYKTS.

RICARD.

†† HÆNRL.

WORCESTER.

ÆDRIC.
GODWINÆ.
OSBÆR.
OSLATC.

YORK.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
TLVIN. GERTRD. hVGO. hVMFREI. ISTC. WILLÆLM. TVRKIL. EVERTRD.	TVRKIL. EVERTRD. DTVI. NICOLÆ	✚ EVERTRD. ✚✚ DTVI. ✚✚ NICOLÆ. RENTVD. TOMTS. ✚ IOHTN.	WILTM. ✚ DTVI. RENTVD. TOMTS. IOHTN. PÆRÆS.	

RHUDDLAN.

✚✚ hALLI. ✚✚ TOMTS. ✚✚ SIMON.	✚ SIMON.
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All of peculiar rude work, the legends on reverse frequently retrograde.
 Besides these there is a coin of hERNTVVD ON I . possibly Ilchester, and a few uncertain coins.

Of course, in a list of this kind it is impossible to prove the identity of the moneyers of the same name, and at the same mint, striking different varieties of coins. There may, for instance, have been two or three Johns, or Richards, or Williams, one after another, as moneyers at the same mint. Still, there can hardly have been such a succession of moneyers one after the other of the same name at all the mints in the kingdom, and the evidence derived even from the occurrence of such common names as those I have cited must be regarded as of value, especially if it is often repeated at different mints. Let us now see how the sequence I have adopted is confirmed by the names of the moneyers. It is, of course, needless to cite the names of moneyers who struck both Class I. and Class II., as the close connection between these two classes is evident, and the mere fact of a moneyer having struck both does nothing to decide which was first.

Of the sixty-six English moneyers, however, who struck under Class I., the names of nineteen appear under Class II., of seven under Class III., of six under Class IV., and of not one under Class V.


The moneyers who commenced by striking the second class of coins are twenty-seven in number. Of these, thirteen struck under Class III., eleven under Class IV., and four under Class V.

There are sixty-one names which first appear under Class III. : of these, thirty-seven reappear under Class IV., and twelve under Class V. Under Class IV. five names occur for the first time, of which one is found in Class V. Class V. itself presents fourteen names which occur in it alone.

These numbers, however, cannot be taken as indices of the duration of time during which coins of any one class were struck, as there are several mints of which coins of

the first class alone are known, and there are comparatively few in which coins of the fifth class were struck. I think, however, that the facts here adduced tend to prove that the coinage of the short-cross pennies was continuous without any great break or interval from the time of its commencement until its close, and farther that the arrangement of the different varieties which I have adopted is right in point of time, as nearly 50 per cent. of the moneyers who commenced coining what I have made Class II. reappear under Class III., whereas under 11 per cent. of those who coined under Class I. are found again in Class III.

There are, however, other circumstances which prove that the coins I have placed in Class I. are the earliest of the short-cross pennies, and that they were moreover struck under Henry II. on his great re-coinage, which commenced in 1180.

In the first place, it is only on the coins of this class that the square L and the Roman E, such as we find on the Tealby coins, make their appearance, the Lombardic C and C being universally used on the coins of the other classes. The M's are often also peculiar, being of the rounded form  instead of square. The following moneyers may be cited as having had this square E on their dies. Asretin and Jordan at Exeter; Henri, Johan, and Pieres M. at London; Filip and Hugo at Northampton; Osber and Rodbert at Wilton; and Clement, Gocelm, and Osber at Winchester. In the second place, the names of two of these, Johan and Pieres M. (some of both of whose coins, as well as those of Clement of Winchester, have pellets at intervals in the outer circle), occur on coins of the Tealby type, on which class of coins we also find the names of the following moneyers of Class I. of the

short-cross coins—Roger at Exeter; Jeffrei, Pieres, and Ricard of London; and Reinald of Norwich. And it is worthy of notice that out of these seven moneyers of the Tealby coins and of Class I., only three survive in Class II.

It is much to be regretted that we have not more frequent notices of the names of the moneyers of the short-cross period in contemporary documents. We find, however, as has already been pointed out by Mr. Longstaffe, that Alain, who struck coins of the two first classes alone, was, from 1181 until some period long before the accession of Henry III., moneyer at Carlisle, where he was succeeded by Thomas, who struck coins of Classes III. and IV. only;³² while at the mint of Durham, where he struck coins of the second class alone, he could only have been moneyer after the year 1189 and during the reign of Richard I.

As regards the Chichester mint, we find in the year 1204,³³ that there ought to be three dies at Chichester, of which two were for the King and one for the Bishop, and it would appear from the list that the names of these three moneyers who were striking together coins of the second period were Everard, Goldwine, and Reinaud.

Lichfield, again, is a mint which does not occur on the Tealby coins, but we learn "that Richard I. in his first year, 1189, granted to the Church of St. Chad, and to Hugh, Bishop of Coventry, to have one pair of dies in Lichfield, and that the mint should be for ever."³⁴ How long the Bishop availed himself of this privilege is uncertain, but we have some very rare coins of the first class

³² See also Noble, *Coins of Durham*, p. 8.

³³ Rot. Claus. An. vi. Joh. (Calendar, p. 8.)

Ruding, vol. ii. p. 215; Chart. Antiq. in Turr. Lond., p. 25.

struck by *IOHN ON LIHCEFE* and no others; and though the mint was established under Richard I., the coins bear the name of Henry. The mint is not known among the long-cross coins, and as Bishop Hugh died in 1199, it seems probable that he struck but few coins, and his successor allowed the privilege to lapse.

At Lincoln we find Lefwine striking coins of the first class; while in the Pipe Roll ³⁵ of the 4th of John (1202-3), it appears that "*Lefwinus monetarius debet v. marcas*," showing that he was still alive at that time. Again we find William, son of Derewold, a moneyer at Thetford, in the 14th of Henry II. (1167); though the mint of that town ceased with the Tealby type, and the citizens were fined in the 3rd of John, 1201, "*in defalcatione quatuor monetariorum*;" but on a short-cross coin of the first class struck at Lincoln we find the name of WILL. D. F. as the moneyer, which suggests the possibility of William Fitz Derewold having been appointed a moneyer at Lincoln after the cessation of the Thetford mint.

At York we find that in the 3rd year ³⁶ of John, 1202, Everard Bradex owed thirty marks as a fine which had been imposed upon him "*de malâ custodiâ monetæ*," and that Everard was a moneyer at York who struck coins of the three first classes.

Turning again from facts like these to what must be regarded as merely circumstantial evidence, it will be observed that though there is a transition from the coins which I have placed under Class I. into those under Class II., yet the latter are far more barbarous; and when

³⁵ Longstaffe, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iii. p. 176. Madox, Hist. Exch., 508.

³⁶ Rotulus Cancellarii vel Antigaphum Mag. Rot. Pip. de III. Anno. Regni R. Johan. 8vo., 1833.

it is remembered that a foreign artist, Philip "Aymari," of Tours, was brought over into this country to reform the coinage in 1180, it will at once appear that it is far more probable that the better executed coins were struck first, and that the dies gradually degenerated, than that Philip "Aymari" should have reformed the coinage by striking the barbarous coins on which his successors gradually improved.

It will have been noticed that the name of *FITZAIMER ON LVN* occurs on coins of the first class. Whether, as has been suggested by some, we have here the name of Philip "Aymari" I will not attempt to determine, but it seems strange if a mere surname such as Fitzaimer could have been intended; and though Philip "Aymari" would appear to have been an engraver of dies rather than a moneyer, there is no reason why he may not have held a moneyer's place before his dismissal from this country.

That the foreign artists were superior to the English in the engraving of dies, towards the end of the twelfth century, is a fact which will be readily admitted. Without referring to any other coinage, we have only to compare the Poitou and Aquitaine deniers of Richard I. with some of the short-cross coins of the second class to appreciate the difference; and yet, as will hereafter be seen, there is every reason for supposing these coins to have been contemporaneous.

For, as has already been shown, the coinage of the first class of short-cross pennies commenced under Henry II. in 1180, and there is ample evidence of a transition from Class I. into Class II.; but the moneyers at the London mint appear later on, in 1222, to have been only four in number, and yet we have the names of at least twenty-

two who struck coins of one or both these classes, showing that considerable changes must have taken place at the mint during the time when these coins were being struck. Certainly such changes could hardly have occurred in the nine years which intervened between the coinage of 1180 and the death of Henry II.

At Canterbury we have nine names of moneyers during this period, but there is a very much larger proportion of moneyers under the second class than at London. Now it is a curious fact that under Henry II. there was no archiepiscopal mint at Canterbury,³⁷ but in the first year of Richard I., 1189, the liberty of three dies and three moneyers was granted to Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his successors, which grant was confirmed by John both in his first and second years.

In 1189 Richard I. gave a charter to the citizens of Winchester,³⁸ in which some peculiar privileges are granted to the moneyers of that city, which was again confirmed by John in 1208. Similar privileges were granted by Richard I. to the moneyers of Lincoln³⁹ and Norwich.⁴⁰ There can, therefore, be little doubt that even on historical grounds we should be justified in assuming that the coinage was carried on under Richard I., and as the coins themselves and the number of names of moneyers upon them prove that the issue of the short-cross coins of the first and second classes into which I have divided them was continuous, and extended over a considerable period of years, I think we must accept a portion of these coins as having been issued by Richard. The great difficulty in the case, viz., that they all bear the name of Henry, is to some extent removed by the argu-

³⁷ Ruding, vol. ii. p. 181.

³⁸ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 174.

³⁹ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 189.

⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 199.

ments of Mr. Longstaffe. A type and legend once solemnly established was not lightly to be disturbed, especially when it involved a change in all the dies in the numerous mints throughout the kingdom. Even in cases where a change was not likely to be productive of doubt and distrust, it does not always appear to have been made at once on the accession of a new king. Thus the stamp for marking or "coining" tin in Cornwall was not changed under Henry III. until his fourth year, when there was "*Mutatio cunei Regis ac inscriptio. monetæ ejusdem de Stagnario Regis Comitatus Cornubiæ.*"⁴¹ The persistence of the name of Charlemagne upon certain classes of French coins has already been pointed out by Mr. Boyne⁴² and Mr. Longstaffe, and there appears to be little doubt that coins bearing the name of CARLVS REX R, without the slightest mention of Richard, were struck under Cœur de Lion at Melles.

There are, however, other circumstances which may possibly afford the reason why the coins of Richard still continued to bear the name of Henry. Richard succeeded to the English throne while absent in Normandy, on the 6th July, 1189. To use the words of Speed, he shortly after "cuts over" to England, and was crowned September 3rd. Before his coronation he styles himself simply "*Dominus Angliæ,*" and only a few months afterwards he started for the Holy Land, leaving England under the charge of John. There is no record of any provision having been made during his short stay in England for the alteration of the coinage, though he granted dies to Lichfield and Canterbury and the charters already mentioned, and there is no difficulty in supposing that the

⁴¹ Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 12. ⁴² Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iii. p. 172.

dies of Henry II. having continued in use during his short stay in England, remained unaltered during his absence and captivity. It was not until the spring of 1194 that he returned to England, and was crowned for a second time at Winchester on 17th April, 1194, at which time his reign in England may be said to have virtually commenced. He then caused a new great seal to be made, and required that all former charters should be renewed under it, and, if Trivet is to be trusted,⁴³ ordained that *one kind of money* should be current through the realm, and carried it into effect to the great advantage of his people, who had been much aggrieved by the diversity of coins. Now the coins which were current at the time of the death of Henry II. must have been those of the earlier variety of the short-cross type, which we have seen were first struck in 1180, probably mixed with some of those of the Tealby type, which had not yet been all withdrawn from circulation. Such a diversity of money might well encourage the introduction of clipped and spurious money, especially as the earlier coins of Henry II. were so execrably struck that there is rarely more than half the legend upon them. To remedy this it seems that Richard decreed that one kind of money only should be current. There is no mention of his calling in the whole currency and issuing a fresh coinage in his own name, but simply of his ordaining that one kind only of the coins in use should remain current; and it would appear that this one kind must have been the short-cross pennies struck by his father during the latter part of his reign, after the reformation of the coinage by Philip "Aymari." Now we have already seen that there are

⁴³ Ruding, vol. i. p. 175, from Trivet and Bromton.

certain coins bearing the name of Henry which, like those issued at Lichfield and Durham, must of necessity be assigned to Richard I., and it appears a not improbable cause for his having continued to strike his coins in his father's name instead of his own that he was desirous of maintaining that perfect uniformity in the coinage which he provided for in the ordinance I have already cited, and from the want of which his subjects had had such cause of complaint. This fixity of type and inscription when once established by Richard may well have been perpetuated by John until the legend on the obverse again became adapted to the actual reigning sovereign, under Henry III., and was not abolished until the long-cross type was introduced in 1247. These long-cross coins continued in their turn until the year 1279, or the seventh year of Edward I., who, like Richard and John, seems to have continued to strike coins in the name of his father; that is to say, if we are to suppose that he struck any coins at all during the first six years of his reign, as there are no coins bearing his name extant which appear to have been struck before his seventh year, and yet there is no record of his mints having all fallen into disuse up to that time. The fact that in much later times the earliest coins of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Charles I. were struck with their fathers' portraits upon them, is well known, and need hardly be cited as affording a somewhat parallel instance.

To return, however, to the short-cross pennies, of the two first varieties of which enough has now been said. We have seen that they were struck under both Henry II. and Richard I., but at present nothing has been said as to when the issue of the barbarous coins of the second class ceased, and the reformation of the coinage, as evinced by the greatly improved workmanship of the coins which I

have assigned to the third class, took place. But to this also I think we have some clue, and I will first cite the words of one of our older numismatists upon this point, Bishop Fleetwood,⁴⁴ the learned author of the "*Chronicon Preciosum*:"—"In 27 *Henry II.* the money was so abused and corrupted, that he found it necessary to call it in to be changed for new money then to be coined. About twenty-five years after, *viz. Anno 1205*, King *John* observing that the abuse of money was either in a great part continued or revived, called it in again and caused it to be new coined; and thereby brought it to a greater purity or fineness than it had been before in any of his predecessors' reigns. On which account some authors fix upon him as the inventor or first ordainer of sterling money." Stow also records that in the seventh year of John the penny was so sore clipped that there was no remedy but to have it renewed. And Leake judiciously observes that though the coins that have hitherto been found of King John are all Irish, we must not therefore conclude he coined no money in England.

We have, indeed, the writ⁴⁵ of 9th November, 1204, which was issued against the clipped money, and the assize of 26th January, 1205, which provides that if any of the pennies which should be made after Christmas in the sixth year of the king (1204) were found clipped in any person's hands, they were to be bored through, and he in whose possession they were taken was to be attached as a thief. Provisions were also made against the reblanching of the old pennies, and as to the pennies which should issue from the King's mint and from that of the Archbishop of Canterbury. There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt of there having been an extensive

⁴⁴ Hist. Ant. of Coins, p. 12.

Ruding, vol. i. p. 178.

recoinage about the commencement of 1205 ; and accordingly, as before mentioned, both in the “Annales de Wintonia” and “Annales Cambriæ” we find a notice under that year “mutatio monetæ facta est ;” while the “Annals of Waverley” record that “Facta est turbatio magna in regno per tonsuram sterlingorum.”

This new issue of coins must have been of those which I have placed under Class III., which are distinguished by their great neatness as compared with those of Class II., and which, therefore, though retaining the old type and inscription, might readily be distinguished as new money. I cannot help thinking that there is an indirect allusion to this new coinage in a song⁴⁶ which appears with good reason to be attributable to the reign of King John, in which the lines occur—

“Nummis in hâc curiâ non est qui non vacet,
Cruæ placet, *rotunditas* et *albedo* placet.”

But at all events a comparison of the coins of Classes III. and IV. with the Irish pennies bearing the name of King John proves them to belong to the same period: The bust with two curls on each side enclosing pellets, the long narrow face, and, above all, the form of the letters, are striking points of union. In the same manner the Irish half-pence of John with the title DOM, which are of earlier date, are closely allied in workmanship with the coins of Classes I. and II.

But perhaps the most remarkable proof that these coins were issued by John is to be found in the fact that in his ninth year (1st October, 1208) he summoned all the moneyers and those skilled in the art of making money to a council at Westminster, and commanded the moneyers

⁴⁶ Political Songs, Camden Soc., 1839, p. 16.

to seal up their dies and bring them with them from the mints of London, Winchester, Exeter, Chichester, Canterbury, Rochester, Ipswich, Norwich, Lynn, Lincoln, York, Carlisle, Northampton, Oxford, Bury St. Edmunds, and Durham, and that it is precisely of these sixteen towns and of no others in England that coins of Classes III. and IV. are extant. Of some of these towns, moreover—such, for instance, as Lynn, Rochester, and Ipswich—no short-cross coins of any of the other classes are known.⁴⁷ Indeed, at Lynn there was at no other period any mint at all. In 1211 we find the Custodes of the See of Durham, then vacant, Eimeric, Archdeacon of Durham, and Philip de Ulecote, charging themselves with £18 11s. for the profit of the dies (*de proficuo cuneorum*) for three years and a quarter, and Mr. Longstaffe⁴⁸ traces the operation of the mint still further. In 1204,⁴⁹ as already mentioned, we have the record of John commanding by writ that there should be three dies at Chichester, two for the king and one for the bishop, and in the following year two dies are granted to the bishop. Accordingly we find no longer three, but four moneyers at Chichester—Pieres, Rauf, Simon, and Willelm—of this third class of coins. In 1208, the year when the moneyers were summoned to London, John granted the citizens of Winchester the privilege of a moneyer, and in 1210⁵⁰ we find him causing money to be coined in Ireland according to the weight of the English money.

Looking at the whole evidence, there can, I think, be little doubt that the mints at the sixteen towns I have

⁴⁷ Madox., *Hist. Exch.*, p. 449; Rud., vol. i. p. 179.

⁴⁸ *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. iii. p. 177.

⁴⁹ Rud., vol. ii. p. 222; Rot. Cl. A, vi.; Reg. Johan, 18°. Majj.

⁵⁰ Stow, s.a.; Rud., vol. i. p. 180.

mentioned were in operation during the reign of John, and that the coins of the third and probably the fourth class, though still bearing the name of Henry, were struck under John.

The coins of the fourth class differ but so slightly from those of the third, that in some cases where the third curl on one or both sides is extremely small, it is difficult to distinguish between them. When, however, the three curls are fully developed, the transition from the fourth to the fifth class is easily made. Even in the third class there are several varieties of portrait, so that it would appear that the issue of these two classes of coins (the third and the fourth) extended over a considerable number of years.

During this period the coins of the two varieties which I have classified under A and B were also issued, and these demand a few words. The coins with the cross-pommée mint-marks do not appear to have been issued from all the mints; and judging from the great similiarity in their workmanship, the dies, which for all the English mints were probably engraved in London, would appear to have been the work of some one or two engravers who perhaps adopted the cross-pommée as a private mark. The busts are of both kinds, having either two or three curls, and occasionally they are of an exceptional character. On some few there are more than five pearls in the crown.⁵¹ The moneyers' names so frequently occur in Class II. that these coins may with some probability be regarded as among the earliest of Classes III. and IV. Mr. Pownall has already published a list of most of these coins. The coins of the variety B with the decorated letters are first noticed in the Eccles hoard, and as far as at present known are con-

⁵¹ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iii. p. 190.

fined to the following mints and moneyers, marked in the table by an * :—Henri, Johan, Samuel, Simon, and Walter, at Canterbury ; Abel, Henri, Ilger, Rauf, and Ricard, at London ; and Rauf, at Bury St. Edmunds. These moneyers were, therefore, in all probability, contemporaries, and though at present we cannot fix their exact date, yet from so many of the moneyers reappearing under Class V., and the greater part if not all of the coins with the ornamented letters being of the fourth class, they probably belong to the close of the “middle” period. There are some coins of Fulke of London with the cross-pommée which show a tendency to ornamentation of the letters, the \mathfrak{E} and \mathfrak{C} having two small pellets after each, $\mathfrak{E} \cdot \mathfrak{C}$:

I must not, however, at present dwell upon the details of the coins, but pass on to the consideration when the middle type of the short-cross coins ceased to be struck and the late type was introduced.

Ruding records, that in the fourth year of Henry III. a writ was issued for changing the legend of the coins from the name of King John to that of Henry III. ; but this is an error, as the writ related to the stamp in use in the Stannaries. In his sixth⁵² year, however (1222), we find Ilger, the king’s goldsmith, and three others, Custodes Monetæ of the city of London, and Adam Blund and seven others, Custodes Cuneorum, to whom, in addition to dies for round half-pennies and farthings (which as far as at present known were not used), eight dies for pennies were delivered. What was the precise office of the Custodes Cuneorum, Ruding⁵³ was unable to ascertain, but, as he says, it was clearly distinct from that of the Custodes Monetæ. These latter, however, seem to have been the responsible moneyers, whose names appeared upon the

⁵² Rud., vol. i. p. 182 ; Madox, Hist. Exch., p. 603.

⁵³ Vol. i. p. 45.

coins, while those of the Custodes Cuneorum seem not to have done so. For instance, in the middle of 1238, Lambine Dravet⁵⁴ was elected a Custos Cunei at Canterbury, in the place of Adam Mercer, but no coins are known bearing either of these names as moneyers. In the same manner, taking the list of the Monetarii and Custodes Cuneorum appointed in various towns in A.D. 1247 (published in the Appendix to John of Oxenede's Chronicle, p. 294), to which my attention was first called by Mr. Longstaffe, we find that the names of the Custodes Cuneorum do not appear upon the coins, but that with very few exceptions the names of all the different moneyers are found upon long-cross pennies which are still extant.

By the kindness of Mr. W. H. Hart, F.S.A., of the Public Record Office, I am able to complete the list of the Custodes Cuneorum et Monetæ of 1222. The former were as follows:—Adam Blundus, Randulphus de Hanore, Walterus Poltte, Willielmus Rufus, Willielmus de Lindesie, Ricardus de Nekintone, Nicholaus Orbatur, and Ricardus Orbatur.⁵⁵ The Custodes Monetæ were—Ilgerius Auri-faber, Radulphus de Frowik, Elias de Wirecestre, and Terricus le Chaunier.⁵⁶

Now of all these four Custodes Monetæ, ILGÆR, R7VVF, ÆLIS, and TÆRRI, we have coins in abundance, and, what is remarkable, though Ilger and Rauf struck coins of the third and fourth as well as of the fifth class, yet of Elis and Terri there are coins of the latter class alone. The inference is that the coins of the fifth class either commenced in or but little before the year 1222. There are, however, coins of Abel, not only in the fifth, but in the

⁵⁴ Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, p. 603; Ruding, vol. ii. p. 177.

⁵⁵ This list slightly varies from that in Ruding, vol. i. p. 46.

⁵⁶ They were regarded as Wardens of the Mint by Ruding, vol. i. p. 26. The last name he gives as Terricus de Chaniurt.

two preceding classes, and it seems that if there were only four⁵⁷ moneyers employing eight dies in 1222, Abel had already ceased from office. But it is to be observed that the coins of the fifth class struck by him have not the words on the reverse divided in an arbitrary manner by dots, as is so constantly the case on the coins of Elis and Terri, and occurs not unfrequently on those of Ilger and Rauf. We must therefore conclude that the early coins of the fifth class were struck for some little time before 1222, when Elis and Terri became moneyers, and before the system of introducing dots into the legend on the reverse was in vogue; and we may, with some degree of reason, assume that the issue of the short-cross coins of the fifth class commenced about the time of the accession of Henry III., in 1216, or shortly after.

Looking at other records, we find that Adam de Bedeleic and Richard de Neketon took their oaths of fealty as moneyers at London in the 14th of Henry III. (1230), and accordingly we find coins of the fifth class bearing the names of Adam and Ricard. There are, however, coins of the third and fourth class with these same names upon them, so that it is possible that some of these coins of the fifth class belong to an earlier Adam and Ricard than those here mentioned, and if so, were struck before 1222. There are no dots in the legends of these coins; but from the small size and style of the coins, it seems probable that those of the fifth class may be assigned to the later Adam and Ricard of 1230.

It was in that same year,⁵⁸ 1230, that Henry III. granted

⁵⁷ It seems probable that there were only four moneyers at London, from the fact that only four Custodes Monetæ are mentioned, and that there were only five who struck the coins with the ornamented letters, or those with the cross-pommée.

⁵⁸ Ruding, vol. ii. p. 177.

to William, his tailor, the custody of the money die at Canterbury, which had been in the keeping of Simon Chich, deceased. Whether he was *Custos Monetæ* or *Custos Cunei*, I think the coins bearing the name of *WILLÆM TÆ* must be assigned to him, which are all of this fifth class. The name of Simon Chich is not known upon coins, but he is possibly the Simon of Classes II., III., IV., and V., who must have been an old man, but, as there was no other Simon at Canterbury, needed no distinctive surname on his dies. *IOAN CHIC*, whose Canterbury coins are also all of this latest class, was probably of the same family.

It is very remarkable that so many of the mints at which the earlier classes of short-cross pennies were struck seem to have fallen into disuse before the coins of the last class were issued, as it is confined to the mints of Canterbury, London, and Bury St. Edmunds, with the exception of a few coins struck at Durham and Oxford. This may, in a great measure, have been owing to the system of farming the mints which was practised at the commencement of the reign of Henry III. It is, for instance, on record that the mints and exchanges of London and Canterbury were committed to Richard Reinger,⁵⁹ in 1229, at a yearly rent of 700 marks, and we may be sure that it would be to his interest to do all in his power to have other competing mints suppressed. At a subsequent period, when the privilege of the mints throughout the whole kingdom was granted to the king's brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall,⁶⁰ there was a reason for again multiplying the mints, and accordingly, in 1247, when the long-cross coinage commenced, we find mints re-established in various parts

⁵⁹ Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, p. 632; Ruding, vol. ii. p. 191.

⁶⁰ Ruding, vol. ii. p. 184.

of the kingdom. This was the case at York, Carlisle, Shrewsbury, and Wilton, to which places writs were issued for the bailiffs to make choice of moneyers just in the same terms as to other towns where no short-cross coins had been struck. The same seems to have been the case at Winchester, which corroborates the numismatic evidence that the mints at these towns had fallen into disuse. At Durham,⁶¹ where the coinage appears to have ceased with PIERCES, who, however, struck some coins of the fifth class, the bishop, in 1252 or 3, claimed the privilege of a mint, by the exhibition of *ancient* dies and of money struck from them, and had his claim allowed.

At Lincoln, the mint, which struck no coins of the fifth class, was re-established; but a sufficient time had elapsed for a change in the orthography of the name of the city, which, though universally NICOLE on the short-cross coins, is always LINCOLN on those with the long cross.⁶² Carlisle has also changed from CTRDV to CTRLEL, Oxford from OXENÆ to OXON, and Shrewsbury from STALOP to SROSÆB.

At Northampton, where no coins of the fifth class were struck, and where, in 1229, the citizens accounted for some profits of the coinage and for money arising out of the said profits which had been unpaid *for some years past*, the mint was re-established; and the same appears to have been the case at Norwich, Exeter, Oxford, and Newcastle, of which last no short-cross coins occur.

Of Chichester, Ipswich, Lichfield, Lynn, Rochester, Worcester, and Rhuddlan, no long-cross coins are known. Of these we have seen that Lichfield first received the privilege of a mint from Richard I., while Chichester,

⁶¹ Ruding, vol. ii. p. 165.

⁶² Major Moore, Num. Chron. vol. x., p. 27, has also called attention to the change in the spelling of the moneyers' names.

Ipswich, Lynn, and Rochester sent their moneyers to the council held by King John in 1208.

Altogether the evidence, numismatic and documentary, corresponds in such a manner as in my opinion to show conclusively that the succession of varieties in the type took place in the order in which I have arranged them, and that the dates assigned for each are at all events approximately correct.

There are, however, two other classes of evidence to which I shall but briefly allude. The one is that to be derived from the association of different coins in hoards, the other that of the types of the coins of other countries.

Setting aside the find of coins in Norway,⁶³ from which M. Holmboe inferred that the short-cross type was struck under Henry II., though this conclusion was disputed by Mr. Haigh, the most remarkable hoards beside that of Eccles are those of Newry⁶⁴ and Yorkshire.⁶⁵ In the latter case all the coins were of my third class, and comprise specimens from all the⁶⁶ sixteen mints mentioned as existing under John, with the exception of Bury St. Edmunds. There do not appear to have been any foreign coins in the hoard, but it is remarkable, as proving the attention paid to the currency, that no coins but those of the latest and approved issue were present. In the Newry find, on the contrary, the coins of the third class were rare, the great majority being those of the first and second types; but I am informed that with them were associated a number of Irish pennies of John in good condition; while many of the coins of Henry showed signs of considerable wear, which could hardly have been the case

⁶³ Num. Chron., vol. iv. p. 185—201. ⁶⁴ *Ib.*, N.S., vol. i. p. 204.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 206, and vol. ii. p. 80.

⁶⁶ The coin of Alisandr., placed under Canterbury, is of Ipswich, and that of Nicole on Len is of Lynn, not of Lincoln.

had they been struck under Henry III. In the case of these Eccles coins, which all will agree must have been deposited some time in the reign of Henry III. before his issue of the long-cross type in 1248, we have two coins of Frederick II. of Germany, who did not begin his reign until 1212; but we have also coins of William Tailor at Canterbury, who did not receive his die until 1230. On the assumption that the hoard was buried about 1240, we should expect to find a large number of the coins of the fifth class present, fewer of the third and fourth, and fewer still of the first and second. The following are the actual proportions in round numbers of the coins on which the legends could be completely made out:—

Class 1	.	.	.	.	.	100
" 2	.	.	.	.	.	100
" 3	.	2,200	}	.	.	2,520
" 4	.	320		.	.	2,520
" 5	.	.	.	.	.	2,730
						<hr/> 5,450

which shows how completely the later issues had, at the time when this hoard was deposited, supplanted the coins struck under Henry II. and Richard I.

The evidence of the types of foreign coins is equally convincing as to the introduction of the short-cross type in England under Henry II., for not only do we have coins of the German Emperor ⁶⁷ Otho IV. (1198 to 1217) (see Pl. XI., No. 11), with the short-cross type and the cross-pommée mint-marks, some specimens of which occurred at Eccles, but Cappe ⁶⁸ engraves a short-cross penny as of Henry VI., Emperor from 1190 to 1197. It is, however, possible that the legend on the obverse, *HCINRIC R-EX*, may have been copied from an English coin, and if so, the attribution would fall through.

⁶⁷ See Snelling's *Counterfeit Sterlings*, p. 22. ⁶⁸ No. 348.

One other point may be mentioned, as to the portraits, such as they are, upon the short-cross coins. It has been urged, that inasmuch as the head upon the coins of Class V. has an older appearance than that on Class IV., it represents the same person, Henry III., at two periods of his life. The coins however of Class V. commenced, as I have already shown, before 1222, and the bust on Classes III. and IV. has a well-developed beard, whereas Henry III., when he came to the throne in 1216, had not completed his tenth year. If, therefore, the bust on Classes III. and IV. is a portrait at all, it is not that of Henry III. but of John.

I must not, however, at present occupy more space on this question, and will now merely recapitulate the results of the present inquiry. It appears then—1st. That the short-cross pennies are susceptible of at least five subdivisions, most of which however shade off into each other, so that their issue was continuous. 2nd. That the coinage of short-cross pennies commenced under Henry II. in 1180, whose coins are approximately represented by those I have placed under Class I. 3rd. That the coinage continued under Richard I., whose coins are represented mainly by Class II., though probably some of these belong also to the first years of John. 4th. That under John a reformation of the coinage took place, and that his improved coinage is that of Classes III. and IV., though probably some of the coins of Class IV. may belong to the first few years of Henry III. And 5thly. That the coins of Class V. may all be assigned to Henry III., under whom, in 1247 or 1248, the short-cross coinage terminated, and the long-cross pennies were introduced.

JOHN EVANS.

XIV.

NOTE ON THE LEGEND ON THE GEORGE NOBLE
OF HENRY VIII.

THE legend on the gold coin of Henry VIII., called the George Noble from its bearing on the reverse the figure of St. George spearing the dragon, is as follows :—

TALI . DICATA . SIG . MES . FLVCTVARE . NEQT .

It occurs on no other coin in the English series, and I am not aware that its source has ever been indicated. Neither Snelling, Ruding, Leake, nor Wise say a word on the subject. I happened to discover the *unde derivatur* a day or two ago in a note appended to a very curious and interesting article by Dr. F. Keller and Mr. Wylie in No. 84 of the *Archæological Journal*, on a manuscript preserved in the Library of the Monastery of St. Gall, entitled, “*Liber Benedictionalis*,” and containing between 200 and 300 forms of benedictions or graces to be used at meals on various articles of food and drink. They are all leonine or rhyming Latin, and each consists of a single line. The sign of the cross is very frequently alluded to in these verses ; and with reference to the use of this sacred symbol a few stanzas are quoted by Mr. Wylie from a hymn by Prudentius, a writer in the latter half of the fourth century, who, after having held high office under the

Roman Emperor, turned his attention chiefly to religious subjects. The hymn in question is the sixth in a series of twelve for different hours of the day and special seasons, and is entitled, "*Hymnus ante somnum.*" The verses are as follows :—

Fac cum, petente somno,
Castum petis cubile,
Frontem locumque cordis
Crucis figura signet.
Crux pellit omne crimen,
Fugiunt crucem tenebræ;
Tali dicata signo
Mens fluctuare nescit.

The last word, which is *nescit* in Mr. Wylie's quotation, is, however, plainly *NEQUIT* on the coin.

It is clear that Wise had no idea of the true allusion of the legend, for in his description of the coin at p. 235 of his work on the numismatic collections in the Bodleian Library, he reads the abbreviation SIG as meaning SIGILLO instead of SIGNO. And it is singular that the cross, the symbol to which the legend refers, is not to be found on the same side of the coin as the legend, but must be sought for on the obverse, on the mast of the ship.

The legends on the English coins from the time of Edward III. to Charles II., when they were replaced by the titles of the Sovereign, are taken chiefly from the Vulgate version of the Psalms, in one case from the Gospel of St. John, in another from the Book of Proverbs. In other instances they are pious aspirations or maxims rather than direct quotations. Under James I. they allude in two instances to the union between England and Scotland.

J. B. BERGNE.

XV.

MARKING NOT MILLING.

(Read before the Numismatic Society, Dec. 15, 1864.)

It will not be thought unreasonable if I desire to offer a few remarks in reply to the paper by Mr. Williams, on "Milling not Marking," which appeared in the last volume of the Numismatic Chronicle,¹ as I am convinced that the opinions he there advocated are not tenable, if we are to pay any attention to the ancient or legal meaning of the terms in dispute.

That the "mill and screw" was first introduced in 1561 to produce the blanks and stamp them with dies, instead of the old process of hammering,—that it was again revived in 1651, and in 1662 (14 Charles II.) the hammered money finally laid aside, are acknowledged facts, therefore I pass to the quotation from Ruding, vol. i. p. 68, edit. 1840.

"As it is scarcely practicable to impress a legend upon the rim of the smaller coins, a '*graining*' has been devised for the protection of their outer edge. This, which is generally known by the *technical term* 'milling,' was first used in 1663."

It is unfortunate that Ruding should have here adopted by way of explanation a common error which could only lead to confusion.

Touching this *technical term*, its coinage has been

¹ Vol. iv. p. 133.

attributed to Birmingham, but "to whom related or by whom begot," is unimportant; as the patois or slang of the workshops it was in common use, and through misconception or perversion other persons applied it improperly to the *marking* or *graining* upon the edges of the coin.

But though mathematical instrument makers and workers in metal generally, for ornament as well as use, by means of *knurling* tools milled or grained the heads of screws, &c., &c., I deny that such markings *agree perfectly* with those on the edges of the coin.

It is not necessary to follow Mr. Williams in his search for examples of the use of the terms "milling" and "milled." To Shakespeare's "seven groats in mill sixpences," Locke's "milled crown pieces and shillings," Hatton's "milled money," or Horace Walpole's reference to Blondeau's "mill and press," there is no objection: they prove nothing, however, in support of his argument. It is not the proper use of the term, but its abuse, against which I contend.

To the article on coinage in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (Edin. 1824) referred to, no great importance can attach, as it is a mere popular description of the existing mint. Nor is Ruding's remark of more value, that "the whole operation of *milling is yet kept a profound secret* in the mint, all those who are intrusted being sworn not to discover it;" for there has not been for twenty years any secret to keep, the graining having been given to the edge of the coin *by a collar* at the same moment the blank was impressed with the dies.

The whole process of coining, from breaking down the bars to the completion of the coin, was publicly shown, under regulations, without secrecy or reservation.

Mr. Williams next refers to Rapin's History of England (folio, 1743), where a Rose Crown of Charles II. is figured and described as being milled upon the side, with the inscription "Decus et Tutamen" on the edge or rim. This was a puzzle; but to edge out of it, a conclusion is arrived at that the "milled money so frequently referred to appears therefore to have been so called in contradistinction to money not having these markings thus produced by the mill, and from this we may infer with great probability that the 'Mill' was a peculiar instrument used to produce these appearances, and hence the term 'milled money' was applied to coins marked by this machine."

It is with reluctance I designate the conclusion arrived at as reckless and unfounded. If not prepared to question the *legal* acceptance of the word "*marking*" for "*milling*," it is the more extraordinary Mr. Williams should have ventured to express so marked and decided an opinion as to what was "*milled money*," when he had before him the decision of the twelve judges in the case of Bunning, *alias* Pendegrast, in 1794, delivered after full inquiry of the moneyers of the mint (which did not affect their oath of secrecy) as to what was "*milling*."

The objection made was, "that the false money put off (sold) by the prisoner was not proved to have any *marks of milling* upon it.

"The judges held the conviction right," and on delivering their judgment, said—

"*Milled money* is so called to distinguish it from *hammered money*; and *all the money* now current is *milled*, i.e. passed through a mill or press to make the plate out of which it is cut of a proper thickness; though by a vulgar error it is frequently supposed to mean the *marking* on the edges, which is properly termed 'graining' or 'marking.'"

There is no "ambiguity in the application of the word 'milled' here, nor is there anything 'to clear up.'" All is plain and distinct on that point—and it is equally certain that the term "milling" was not used at the Mint; that its *common use* was challenged *legally* seventy years ago, as indeed it had been from 1697, and I shall endeavour to prove that the term has *not* "for time out of mind been employed in describing the peculiar markings on the edges of our coins," and also that "former numismatists" *have not* "universally employed the word milling in the sense" in which Mr. Williams seeks it should be understood.

To do this, I shall endeavour to show by numismatic authors and authentic sources, from the reign of Elizabeth, 1561, unto the present time, in chronological order (so far as is practicable), the use and application of the terms "milled," "marking or graining," and if the question is capable of being settled by a description of the apparatus introduced by Blondeau in 1662, there can be no difficulty, as every portion of the machinery, engines, or instruments then used in the process of coining is well known and understood.

They are in a great degree fully described by himself in the agreement, and it will be seen, incontestably, from his explanation, that the engine used to *mark* the blanks had no connection with milling. Again, the Stat. 8 & 9, William III. c. 26, specially describes its use, assigns to it a *specific name*, and declares it "*not of common use in any trade.*"

I proceed now to quote authorities which it is assumed will not be disputed:—

Elizabeth, 1561.—"At some time in this year the Mill and Screw were first introduced into the Mint. The invention was

brought into England by a Frenchman, who was encouraged by the Queen and Council, and coined milled money in the Tower," &c.²

Leake³ having described the sovereigns of Elizabeth, adds:—

"Also a very neat sort like the former, but without the two circles round the legend, &c. These were coined by the mill, having *graining* upon the flat edge; and there are some few Half and Quarter Sovereigns of this sort, with *graining* both upon the *flat* and *thick edge* of the rim, being undoubtedly the first *English* money coined with the mill, or that had *graining* upon the rim." "The milled shilling, with *graining* upon the flat edges, is without circles about the legend. It is a very neat coin." "There are sixpences almost of every year of her reign, from 1561, both of the hammered and milled sort."⁴

There were likewise "groats, threepences, and twopences of milled money like the sixpences," but there was *no graining* upon the edges.

1572.—"On the 25th August Sir Rich^d. Martyn, then Warden, reported that the Machine for coining invented by Eloye Mestrell had, upon repeated trials, been found defective."⁵

Its use was therefore discontinued in the Mint.

1628.—In this year "Nicholas Briot, some time graver general of the Monies in France, came over into England, and by the King's Letters Patent, dated 16th Dec^r., 1628, was authorised to engrave the first designs as were to serve in all sorts of coins of gold and silver. He was furnished with convenient lodgings in the Mint, and gold and silver delivered to him to be converted into several sorts of gold and silver Money as appointed by the Mint Indenture then subsisting."⁶

1629.—"It appears that on 11 Feb., 1629, a royal warrant

² Ruding, 3rd edit., 1840, vol. i. p. 342.

³ Leake's "Historical Account of English Money," 3rd edit., 1793, p. 247.

⁴ Leake, pp. 250-51.

⁵ Ruding, vol. i. p. 345.

⁶ Leake, p. 310.

was issued, authorizing Nicholas Briot, the eminent Mint engraver, to make trial in the Tower of his new method of coining money by *Mills* and *Presses*;⁷ but from Letters Patent of 13th June, 1631, it appears that in spite of this, and of another Petition from Briot on the 2nd October then last, and another royal warrant of the 11th May then last, this trial had been obstructed."⁸

Folkes, p. 81, says:—

"It is likely if the troubles coming on had not prevented it, (the new way of coining) would have been then established, together with the general use of the mill and *the press or screw*."

Briot returned to France about the year 1640, and the old way of coinage by the hammer was totally abolished in that kingdom in the year 1645.

1651.—"In the year 1651 one Peter Blondeau, a Frenchman, produced some models or proof pieces of money exquisitely coined by the mill and screw, and curiously impressed with *letters* or *grainings* on the *rims* or *edges*, the engraver employed in making the dies being the famous Thomas Simon," &c. "Some of the half-crowns on their edge 'were curiously inscribed, and others had a legend no less artfully impressed.' Both the shillings and half shillings were excellently *grained* on *their respective edges*."⁹

Folkes says:—

"The moneyers at the mint opposed the admitting of Blondeau or his method of coining, which they represented as having nothing new in it." "They also produced, from the hand of David Rannage, one of their company, proof pieces in opposition to the others."

He then describes some as being thin, "and *grained* on the edge as if designed to pass for shillings, and others of the thickness of a modern half-crown, with the *legend* 'Truth and Peace, 1651,' *printed on the edge*," &c.

⁷ Observe, *Presses*, not "*Screws*."

⁸ Mint Report, 1849.

⁹ Folkes, p. 96.

Leake, p. 344, says :—

"There are likewise milled Half-Crowns, Shillings, and Six-pences of 1651, with *graining* upon the outer edge, bearing the same stamp as the Commonwealth hammered Money; and this is the first complete silver milled Money, that of Queen *Elizabeth* and King Charles being only *marked* upon the flat edge.

"It is certain, the Money coined upon this occasion is the first *English* money with an inscription upon the edge; but how far this was owing to Blondeau is doubtful, since *Symon's* coins of Oliver, which were struck soon after, exceeded any that had been coined before; though by not bringing this milled money into common use, it is evident the mill was not brought to perfection,¹⁰ and therefore the hammered money was continued to the *Restoration*."¹¹

Charles II., 1661-2.—"The coining by the mill was early taken into consideration, and was resolved upon before the end of the year 1661; tho' it was not brought into full practice 'till about a year later. For I find an order of Council of the 17th Jan. of that year (1662) for a Privy Seal, to pay to Sir Wm. Parkhurst, and Sir Anthony St. Leger, Knts., and Wardens of the Mint, £1400 by way of Imprest, to be employed for erecting houses, Mills, Engines, and other materials for the coining of money by the Mill.

"And on the 18th of the following April the agreements made by Sir Ralph Freeman, Knt., Master and Worker of the Mint, and Henry Slingsby, Esq., his Deputy, 'concerning several proposals made by them, about coining his Majesty's monies by the *Mill and Press*' were read in Council and approved."¹²

"By these agreements it appears that Peter Blondeau was now taken into the Mint, and that he undertook, for certain considerations, 'to furnish all the Mills, rollers, presses, and other instruments, to cut, flatten, make round, and size the pieces; the engine to *mark* the edges of the money *with letters and grainings*; the great presses for coining of moneys; and all other tools and engines for the new way of coining;' and further, that he did also undertake 'to teach and instruct the Moneyers in the use of his new invented tools and engines, and

¹⁰ Like Mestrell's and Briot's, Blondeau's rollers—only a few inches diameter—had not sufficient power, and, as an aid, the bars were cast as thin as possible.

¹¹ Leake, p. 348.

¹² Folkes, p. 104.

in coining by way of the *mill and press*, the corporation of Moneyers, on their part, undertaking, at certain rates in the said agreements mentioned,' to pass the plates of Gold and Silver at the *horse mill*, and to cut, flatten, size, Neal, blanch, and coin the pieces;—to maintain the horses, &c.

"The said Blondeau particularly engaged 'to discover his secrets in rounding the pieces before they are sized, and in MARKING *the edges of the moneys with letters and grainings*, unto his Majesty, if he should please to be a witness of his art and inventions, and unto the Warden, Master and Worker, and Comptroller of the Mint, and to such other persons only of trust and confidence, as the said Peter Blondeau should, from time to time, find necessary to employ in assisting him to round the pieces and to *mark the edges* of the moneys, according to the quantity weekly coined.'¹³

"And it may be noted that this practice of keeping secret the manner of edging of the money is still observed in our Mint, all those who are entrusted with it being sworn not to discover it."¹⁴

The old method of coining by the hammer ceased, being entirely superseded by the flatting or rolling mill, moved by the power of horses. By the mill the bars of gold or silver were reduced to the proper thickness of the money to be coined, then the cutting engine by force of a screw cut the round blanks out of the plates. After being sized and weighed, the blanks were (secretly) marked by an instrument specially constructed for the purpose, with *letters* or *graining* upon the edges. At last the large coining presses, that by means of a fly bar attached to a powerful screw were worked by two men, impressed both sides of the blank with the dies, and perfected the coin. This system, with very slight modifications, continued until the present Mint was erected, and thus was *and is* within living memory.

¹³ This was correct when Folkes wrote; but Ruding, in copying, fell into an error.

¹⁴ Folkes, p. 105.

1663.—The new milled money was made current by Proclamation on the 27th March, 1663 :—

“The pieces of silver were Crowns, half Crowns, Shillings, and half Shillings.

“The two larger pieces had on their rims or edges ‘Decus. et. Tutamen. Anno. Regni. XV.,’ &c., and the two lesser were neatly *grained* on the edge with parallel strokes at right angles to the faces of the coin; but which were some years after exchanged for those oblique ones that have continued almost to the present (1743) time.”¹⁵

After describing the groats, pieces of threepennies and pennies, Folkes, at p. 110, says :—

“None of these last pieces, nor of those minted before them, tho’ coined by the Mill, were ever marked on the edges: and the same is to be understood of all the pieces of the same denominations that have since been minted in any of the following reigns.”

Now, according to Mr. Williams’s theory, those pieces *could not be milled* money, because they had *no markings* produced by the mill. *Hammered they were not.* What then were they? What those with a *legend* on the edge?

The following *extract* from a Royal Warrant, dated January, 1690, and copy of another of September, 1691, will show conclusively beyond a shadow of doubt that “*marking*” was well understood at the Mint 175 years ago, and long before :—

W. R. Whereas the Commissioners of our Treasury, by their Warrant bearing date the 3rd day of Novr. last, did authorize and require you to deliver to Thos. Anderson, the present Provost of the Moneyers, the keys of the office of Engineer of the Mint, in our Tower of London, and to put into his possession all the tools and Engines remaining there for *rounding* and *marking* the monies, or any others that belong to the said office, and the performing of the services relating thereunto.

¹⁵ Folkes, p. 108.

"And whereas the said Thomas Anderson hath by his petition represented that he is, by virtue of the said Warrant, put into possession of the said office, and hath *taken an Oath to keep the secret thereof, &c.*" [By this warrant, £100 per ann. was allowed to him for his services, and to "keep all the tools and Engines in good and sufficient repair."]

"Given at our Court at Kensington,
the 14th day of Jan'y. 1690, in the
2nd year of our reign."

GODOLPHIN.
HAMPDEN.
St. Fox.

"By His Majesty's Command."

In 1691 we find a Treasury Warrant as follows:—

"After our hearty commendations, these are to pray and require you to pay unto Thomas Anderson, the Provost of the Moneyers, for himself and the rest of the Moneyers, for making gold and silver pieces round before they are sized, and for *marking of the edges* of them with *letters or grainings*, and for keeping in repair all the rollers, and stamps, and instruments to cut, flatten, make round, and size the pieces, and to *mark the edges* of the money with letters or grainings, the sum of sixpence for every pound weight troy, gold money, and the sum of 1½*d.* for every pound weight troy of silver monies: that shall be *rounded and marked*, and that in consideration of the great charges which he and they are in keeping horses and workmen for their daily expense, there having been for some time past little monies coined in the Mint, you pay unto Thomas Anderson, for himself and the rest of the Moneyers, the sum of £100 yearly, by quarterly payments, the same to commence from the 25th day of March last, and to continue until further order, and this shall be as well to you for so doing as to the Auditors and all others for allowing thereof upon your accounts a sufficient warrant.

"Whitehall Treasury Chambers,
Sept. 8, 1691.

Signed { GODOLPHIN.
JOHN LOWTHER.
St. Fox.
T. PELHAM.

"To the Warden, Master, Worker,
and Comptroller of our Mint, and to
every or any of them now and for the
time being."

1695-6.—By Stat. 7 & 8, William III. c. 19, sec. 4, it was enacted:—

"That for the greater security against counterfeiting the new

intended coin of the realm by the *mill* and *press*, all coining Presses not brought into the Mint, to be seized for his Majesty's use, and the person in whose custody the same is found shall forfeit £500, one moiety to the informer, and the other to his Majesty."

1697.—By Stat. 8 & 9, William III., c. 26, sec. 1, it was enacted :—

"That no Smith, &c., (except employed in the Mint, &c.) shall make or mend any Die, &c., to stamp any current coin of gold or silver, or make or mend any edger, or edging tool, instrument or engine, *not of common use in any trade*, but contrived for *marking* of money *round the edges*, with letters, grainings, or other marks or figures resembling those on the edges of money coined in his Majesty's mint, nor any Press for coinage, nor any cutting engine, for cutting round blanks by force of a screw, out of flatted bars of gold, silver, or other metal."

These offences, together with the buying, selling, concealing, or possession of any of the tools, or instruments before-mentioned, were made High Treason.

It will be observed, the "*flatting mill or rolling press*" was not prohibited, and for the obvious reason that its use was universal as a preparatory process in the lawful manufacture of various metallic articles. Its use is to reduce "the sheet of metal to uniform thickness," and being very common, is doubtless an explanation why any allusion to it, as applicable to coinage, cannot readily be found in books.

In many large towns there are public "*flatting mills*," but the machine is used in divers forms, from the hand mill of the goldsmith and jeweller to that for rolling armour plates for ships of war. This "*mill*" in a rude form was the one introduced by Eloye Mastrelle in 1561, subsequently by Nicholas Briot, and afterwards, though greatly improved, by Peter Blondeau in 1662. It has continued in use ever since.

1697.—By Stat. 9, William III. c. 2, the currency of all hammered silver coin was prohibited after January, 1697; and all the hammered gold coin that remained in circulation was prohibited by Stat. 6, Geo. II. c. 25, sec. 19 (1732).

1708.—By Stat. 8, Anne, c. 45 (made perpetual 4 Geo. I. c. 9), it was enacted:—

“That if any person shall *mark on the edges of* any counterfeit coin, resembling her Majesty’s coin, &c., with *letters, grainings, or other marks* like those on the edges of money coined in the Queen’s mint, &c., shall be guilty of high treason.”

1739.—“In 1739, there was a new die for every species of coin, something better than the former, and the *graining* which had hitherto been diagonal strokes, was now made angular.”—*Leake*.

From this period until the 57th Geo. III., when the present current coin was issued, there is nothing to note.

1817.—By a proclamation, dated 12th February, 1817, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Regent, &c., on behalf of his Majesty, made current and lawful the new silver coinage, and after describing the obverse and reverse sides of the half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, adds, “with a newly-invented *graining* on the edge of the piece.” On the 1st July and 10th October, 1817, the proclamations giving currency respectively to the sovereign and the half-sovereign, describes the edges of those pieces as having “the newly-invented *graining*” upon them.

1819.—The proclamation of 3rd April, 1819, giving currency to the crown, describes it as having “on the edge of the piece in raised letters, ‘Decus et Tutamen anno Regni,’” the year of the reign being in Roman numeral letters.

These crowns were struck “*in collars*,” made for the

dies employed at all the eight presses, in pursuance of a special order of W. W. Pole, the Master, and dated 26th May, 1818. Wyon's crowns (1847) were subsequently inscribed on the edge *by the same means*; and most assuredly I never heard of an instrument called the "mill" as being at any time employed "*for lettering on the edges.*"

When the Mint was within the Tower of London the room appropriated to the secret process of edging the coin was called the "*marking-room.*" When the plan of the New Mint was made—by a very natural, indeed, it may be said, a mechanical idea—a room was provided for that operation, the more especially, as I understood, it was by no means *certain* how the device (whatever it might be) was to be put upon the edges of the coins; hence the *old designation* was transferred, and we had a "marking-room" in the new Mint, although ultimately the collars on the coining presses *grained* the edges of the coin, while a modern apparatus was used to smooth and round the edges of the blanks; this by some slight similarity to the old machine retained its appellation, which will be shown by the evidence of Sir Jasper Atkinson, one of the Senior Moneyers:—

"I came into the Mint on the 1st of April, 1804, as an apprentice. My father, who was Provost of the Company, had been nearly sixty-four years in the Mint, and an uncle also about sixty previous."

Sir Jasper Atkinson proceeds:—

"The first process is the *breaking down*, that is the technical term, reducing by very severe and hard pressure the bars which come from the melting-house, the thickness of an inch, and the width of the coin we are about to make. Having undergone the operation of cold rolling, they are taken to the draw bench, an instrument of *very recent* invention. Those

bars are then taken to engines, called cutters, cutting out as many blanks as each bar will make ; the blanks are next sent into the sizing room, or adjusting room, where each piece is separately weighed.

"The good blanks are then again weighed into journees, and are sent into what is called the *marking room*, for the purpose of raising up the metal to fill the protecting edge of the coin to be struck, &c., and to prevent any difficulties in the operation of stamping.

"There are six marking engines, with apparatus, in the *marking room*."

To vindicate the assertions in my former paper, I have thought it necessary to show by unquestionable authorities that "*milling*" has *not been* applied to indentations on the edges of our coins, "*for time out of mind*," "*for 200 years*," nor "*for 100 years*" by *numismatic writers*, as shown in the works of Leake and Folkes,¹⁶ neither has it been used without dispute.

The solemn decisions of the judges on the reserved cases in 1794 and 1825 as to what was "*milled money*" and "*marking*," it was not deemed prudent to question. Mr. Williams was *not prepared* to assert the words were not *legally* correct; and less so (I assume) to suggest the capital punishment that followed was—for "*an idea*."

Blondeau's agreement, Treasury Warrants, Acts of Parliament, Proclamations, with the evidence of Sir J. Atkinson, the late Provost of the Moneyers, speak for themselves. I am content to let the Society be their own interpreters, and if my view will not stand argument, abandon it.

In making my original communication there was no motive save calling the attention of the Society to the use (or abuse rather) of a term that seventy years ago

¹⁶ I have chosen to refer to these, as being the *oldest*, while Ruding is only a reflex of their knowledge and opinions.

had given rise to legal inquiry, and been judicially determined.

It was not even suggested that the term used at the Mint should be adopted by numismatists. Since then, the question has been put to me, as to what I would call the "*marking*," it being awkward to *describe a coin as marked*? I admit the inconvenience, and the more frankly, because there is no necessity to travel out of the way for a term long since universally used by numismatists, and adopted for many years in the statutes and proclamations: it is "*graining upon the edge*," at once clear and distinctive.

I will not stop to inquire from whom Mr. Williams derived his information as to Mint affairs, but simply *demur* to his statement.

In the Tower of London I made my first acquaintance with moneyers and coining implements. I was familiar with the Soho Mint, have visited the Hotel de la Monnaie at Paris under special auspices, and seen the process of coinage in Germany.

As the oldest surviving officer of the late establishment of the Mint I needed not inquiry; and was therefore in no position to be *misinformed*, as suggested.

I regret that, owing to my illness, so long an interval has taken place ere I could reply to Mr. Williams. As apology for the length of this paper, my object was to make it complete in itself; and as I shall not be induced to enter into a controversy or renew the subject under any circumstances, I trust to be excused by the Society for my temerity in occupying so much of their attention.

E. J. POWELL.

NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In Nos. 1 and 2 (January — April) of the *Revue Numismatique Française*, there are the following articles:—

1. "Finds of Saïda and of Marmara," by M. W. H. Waddington.

2. "Second Letter to M. le Baron de Witte, on the Jewish Coinage," from M. F. de Saulcy.

This second letter of M. de Saulcy's treats of the new attributions of the coins of the Revolts, by Dr. Levy, of Breslau. It merits much more attention than his first letter, though it is at present premature to form any opinion upon the correctness of his views. In this present number of the *Chronicle* there are a few observations on this paper, with some lengthy remarks on the previous one.

3. "On the position of Philippopolis in Arabia, and on the coins of Marinus and Pacatianus," by M. W. H. Waddington.

Many modern writers, taking as authorities the statements of Zonaras and Oedrenus, have supposed Bostra and Philippopolis to be one and the same town. But, as Mr. Waddington has remarked, the coins of Bostra, of which place there is an important series from Antoninus to Treb. Gallus, prove that this town never received the name of Philippopolis. None of the inscriptions, of which there are at least sixty, contain the slightest allusion to any change of name, whilst the acts of the Councils, held in 451, distinctly name Bostra and Philippopolis as two places, giving a bishop to each town, and Hierocles, in his *Synecdemus*, mentions them both as towns in the province of Arabia.

After alluding to the error of Cassiodorus, who confounds Philippopolis in Arabia with Philippopolis in Thrace, and quoting the satisfactory statements of Aurelius Victor, (1) that Philip was the son of a bandit chief of Trachonitis, and (2) that Philippopolis was founded at the commencement of his reign, before he quitted Syria for Rome, Mr. Waddington calls attention to the brass coins of Asiatic fabric which bear on the reverse the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑC, and on the obverse, some the busts of Philip or Otacilia, others the bust of an unknown personage, with the legend ΘΕΩ ΜΑΡΙΝΩ. Now, who was this Marinus? Zosimus and Zonaras mention a certain Marinus, a Roman general, who commanded in Moesia, and who revolted against Philip in 249; and Eckhel, following the opinions of Hardouin and others, supposed that

these coins gave the portrait of this Pretender, and that they were struck in Philippopolis in Thrace. This supposition naturally gave rise to serious objections. Philip killed Marinus, and why should he commemorate him? Moreover, if it is admitted, as Eckhel says, that they are struck after the death of Philip, why should Trajan Decius have commemorated a usurper? Other surmises were expressed, and this vexed question went on till, in 1817, Tôchon d'Annecy suggested that Marinus was the father of Philip. This conjecture has now been established by Mr. Waddington from inscriptions, one of which reads,

... ONMARI
ΘΕΟΝΠΙΤΕΡΑ
ΑΥΦΗΑ · ΑΝΤΩ . .
ΔΟΥΚΗΝΑΠΙΟ

and which were all copied at Chéhebé, in Trachonitis. From this it seems certain that both coins and inscriptions belong to the same town, which town was called Philippopolis, confirming the statement of Aurelius Victor, above quoted, that Philip was an Arab of this province. What may have been the name of the town before it became a Roman colony, Mr. Waddington hesitates to conjecture, though he hints that it might have been the *Pulpudena* of Jornandes.

Another interesting fact exposed by Mr. Waddington is that the coins bearing the legend IMP. TI. CL. MAR. PACATIANVS AVG. belong to the general who revolted in Moesia against Philip, and whom ancient authors have only called *Marinus*.

4. "Inedited episcopal *denier* of Noyon," by M. Albert de Roucy.

5. "Inedited coins of Dezana," by M. A. Morel-Fatio.

5. "Letter to M. F. Soret, on some *dinars Thoulounides* from the collection of M. Mariette Bey," from M. H. Sauvaire.

In the *Chronique* M. J. de Witte has published a new variety of a coin of Bonosus, tyrant under Probus. It is very barbarous.

The excellence of plates i. and ii., by M. Dardel, representing the finds of Saïda and Marmara, must excite general admiration.

In No. 3 (May and June) of the *Revue Numismatique Française* there are the following articles:—

1. "Letters from M. F. de Sauley to M. A. Longpérier, 'on Gaulish Numismatics.'"—XX. Sedullus.—XXI. Ande-comborius.—XXII. Conetodumnus.

2. "Inedited Greek coins. — Tirynthus," by M. A. de Courtois.

3. "Inedited Greek coins. — Acarnania, Lebadea Bœotiæ, Athenæ, Charisia Arcadiæ, Apollonia Cretæ, Cydonia Cretæ, Histiaæ Eubœæ; and a bulla of Theodegus, Bishop of Athens in the eleventh century," by M. S. Comnos.

4. "Autonomous Roman coins." Letter to M. le Duc de Blacas from M. le Baron de Witte.

5. "Coin of Charles VI. struck at Genoa," by M. A. de Longpérier.

6 "Bulla and Ecclesiastical coins of Provence," by M. Ad. Carpentier.

7. "The sequins struck by the Princes of Dombes at Trévoux," by M. A. Morel-Fatio.

8. "*Denier* of Witekind VI., Count of Swalenberg," by M. F. de Pfaffenhoffen.

The *deuxième livraison* of the *Revue Numismatique Belge* for 1865 contains the following articles:—

1. "Gallo-Belgic Numismatics, or Monetary History of the Atrebatæ, the Morini, and Gallo-Belgic nations in general" (continuation and end), by M. Alexandre Hermand.

2. "An inedited *aureus* of Lælian," by M. R. Chalon.

The reverse legend of this interesting gold coin is VIRTVS MILITVM, and the type a female holding a spear and a standard, on which are the numerals XXX. These numbers M. Chalon supposes represent the 30th legion, the *legio Ulpia*, which was generally stationed between the Moselle and the Rhine. A coin of Septimius Severus has also the legend LEG. XXX VLP. And Victorinus I. has left us coins with the legends LEG. XXX VLP. And Victorinus I. has left us coins with the legends LEG. XXX VLP. VIOT. P.F. Lælianus bore the name of Ulpus, which he most probably adopted from the legion that proclaimed him Emperor. The identification of the *Lollian* of Trebellius Pollio and Eutropius, the *Ælian* of Aurelius Victor, and the *Lucius Ælianus* of Pæonius, with the *Lælian* of the coins, is now universally recognised. (Cf. *Rev. Num. Franc.* 1861, p. 201).

3. "Notice on a coin of the Bishop Burchard, struck at Groningen," by M. Hooft van Iddekinge.

4. "Numismatic curiosities. Rare or inedited coins" (eighth article), by M. R. Chalon.

5. "Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des Plommés et des Monnaies," by M. de la Fons-Mélicocq.

In the *Correspondance* are letters to M. R. Chalon from M. Henry Pauly and M. le Comte de Robiano.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of various recent numismatic publications.

In the *Nécrologie* are recorded the deaths of Count Alexander Stroganoff, M. J. B. M. J. Voillemier, Dr. Franz Streber, author of the *Regenbogen Schlüsselchen*, and M. Thomsen, Director of the Royal Museum of Copenhagen.

In No. 39 of the *Jahrbucher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* there is a paper by Dr. Edw. Rapp, of Bonn, entitled "The Labarum and Sun-Worship." It commences with the three following questions:—1. Which of the two signs (☩ or ☩) is properly the right monogram of Christ? 2. Did Constantine place the Holy Sign upon his standard from his dream, from revelation, or from another source? and 3. How is it that, while there is no decree of the Senate on the matter, sometimes one and sometimes the other form occurs upon the Roman Imperial coins?

The *cruz ansata* ☩ , as is well known, was the sacred symbol among the ancient Egyptians, and is not only found upon Egyptian monuments, but also upon Assyrian cylinders. The same symbol also occurs on the walls of the Seræpeum at Alexandria. It may also be found on the coins of Marathus, of Cilicia, and Lydia. Pitra has already proved that until the time of Constantine only the upright cross $+$ is found on Christian graves and monuments, and so he calls this the ground-form of the Christian monogram, to which there only had to be added the Greek P to the uppermost point ☩ . The sloping cross \times seems to have been for many centuries before Christ of the highest signification in the Sun-worship of the people of Asia; and the religion of Constantius Chlorus, who was a zealous Sun-worshipper, was doubtless adopted by Constantine, who in the Sun saw the visible representation of the invisible God of the Christians—the *Sol invictus comes*. By thus adopting the slanting cross, Constantine gained for his cause the heathen people of Asia Minor, as well as the Christian tribes of the East and West, and the Druidic races of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, who also employed the oblique cross \boxtimes as the victorious sign of the *Sol invictus*. The cross of the sun-wheel \oplus occurs on the Gaulish and British coins. All authorities are of opinion that the origin of the upright cross was in Egypt and Assyria, but that the derivation of the slanting cross is to be sought for in the Sun and Mithras worship of the Highlands of Asia. Still, however, both forms occur in the Hieroglyphics. On Chinese coins also both the upright and standing cross occur. "These instances,"

says Dr. Rapp, "confirm me in the view that all the symbolic signs of pre-Christian time can be referred to Asiatic origin. It is a remarkable fact that all the coins cited by me date from the first and second century B.C."

Dr. Rapp also mentions the coins of Herod I. which have on them the monogram P interpreted by De Sauley and Madden as Τριχάλκος . With this he does not agree, as he does not consider that the sign is sufficiently common; moreover it generally appears in that part of the *field* where religious symbols usually are placed. On the coins also of Tigranes and on the *assarion* of Chios, the same monogram is placed upon a rock, a position which seems to point to it as a religious sign. As regards the form on the coin of Tigranes, may it not signify ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΚΕΡΑ , the capital of Armenia, built by Tigranes on the river Nicephorius? It will be seen that the city is represented on the coin with her foot on a river god.

It will be impossible in our limited space to follow Dr. Rapp through each individual argument, and through all the changes of the form of the cross on the coins of the emperors and empresses after Constantine, but we may mention that the entire form of the *labarum* ☩ occurs upon some of the coins of the Bactrian king Azes, B.C. 100. Dr. Rapp concludes, "I have now laid down a crowd of arguments for my theory that the form of the *labarum* passed as a holy symbol long before the time of Constantine the Great, as it were knitting together the most eastern Chinese and the most western Keltic forms of the cross, which (upon the accompanying table) I have endeavoured in some degree to arrange together chronologically, one over the other, in rows of monuments, stones, and coins, in such a manner that the holder of the principal idea, viz. Sun-worship, will see that it reaches down from the Egyptian god Amun Rê at the top, to the sun-chariot of Constantine the Great at the bottom, through the midst of all the steps of formation connected with it during many centuries, like a genealogical tree."

To those interested in this subject we recommend a perusal of Dr. Rapp's paper, as he has certainly collected together a mass of material to prove his theory.

Part II. of the Proceedings of the Manchester Numismatic Society has lately been published, and, judging from its contents, the Society is in a prosperous condition, and its meetings enlivened by interesting exhibitions, of coins and by good papers. The present part contains a paper by Mr. John Harland, F.S.A., on the Find of English Silver Pennies at Eccles, which gives a comprehensive notice of the find and of the various theories as to the attribution of the short-cross pennies. We trust that

Mr. Harland may find in our present number his wishes gratified as to the hoard being subjected to a careful examination and description before it is dispersed or consigned to the melting-pot. To prevent future misapprehension, we may mention that some of the names of moneyers given by Mr. Harland appear to have been misread—as for instance, *Huntere* and *Walter B.* at London, and *Alisandre* and *Roger B.* at Canterbury, and *Goeawn* at Winchester. *Tante*, which is regarded as giving a mint to Taunton, is probably a misreading of *Sante*—St. Edmundsbury. The other papers in this Part are a note on the discovery of some Roman remains near Bury, by the Rev. Thomas Brooke; a very readable account of some Autonomous Coins of Ancient Spain, current in Malaga and Seville in 1863, by Mr. R. D. Darbishire; and a paper on the Law relating to Treasure-trove, by Mr. T. W. Ulph. We fully endorse his opinion, “that it is impolitic in the highest degree that the Crown claim should be allowed to operate as at present, without a determined protest from all interested in the preservation of the old and historical records of preceding ages—records and memorials of times and events which an increasing interest in the history of the past is constantly rendering more valuable.” The Part concludes with some additional Notes on the Coinage of the Isle of Man, by Dr. Charles Clay, and with an account of the coins exhibited at a general meeting of the Society.

MISCELLANEA.

THE Cabinet of Medals at Paris is at present closed, and its treasures are being removed to a new locality.

It has recently acquired a curious incited gold coin, giving the name of a king till now unknown. This unique piece is a stater of Lysimachus, King of Thrace. It differs from the pieces of the successor of Alexander in the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΚΟΥ, which can be seen in the place usually occupied by the words ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΥΞΙΜΑΧΟΥ. This piece, which is said to be in beautiful preservation and of incontestable authenticity, is attributed by M. Chabouillet, the keeper of the Medal Room at Paris, to a king of Scythian or Thracian race, by name ΑΚΑΣ or ΑΚΗΣ, but we doubt the correctness of this view.

The *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* has awarded the *prix de numismatique* to John Evans, Esq., F.R.S., for his work entitled “The Coins of the Ancient Britons.” London, 1864.

FIND OF ROMAN COINS.—The coins of which a numerical list is given below were found at Falmouth, in Cornwall, and

were forwarded from that place by Mr. Shirstone, Inspector Cornwall Constabulary, to the Duchy of Cornwall Office.

There are no coins of Licinius, and it is evident that these coins were deposited early in the reign of Constantine. The most important feature connected with the find is the presence of a very large proportion of *folles* without mint-marks, the earliest of which, struck by Diocletian and Maximian the elder, are similar in style to the coinage of Carausius and Allectus. Mr. de Salis had previously conjectured that the coins of this fabric filled up the gap between the reigns of Carausius and Allectus—who no doubt began the British Roman coinage—and that of Constantine, who struck in his own name, as well as in honour of his colleagues and different members of his family, coins with the *exergual* marks P. LN., M. LN., M. LL., and P. LON.

These *folles* without *exergual* marks and with the reverse legend GENIO POPVLI ROMANI, bear the names of Diocletian and the elder Maximian both before and after abdication, of Constantius Chlorus and Flavius Severus as *Cæsars* and as *Augusti*, and of Galerius Maximian and Maximinus Daza as *Cæsars* only. It is probable that they will also be found of Constantine as *Cæsar* (contemporary with Flavius Severus as *Augustus*), and also of Galerius Maximian as *Augustus*.

It is remarkable that the only coin of Aurelian in this find with the reverse PACATOR ORBIS was the only one attributed by Mr. de Salis to Gaul. It is the only one of all his large coinage whose fabric points to a Gallic origin. He reigned there a few months only after his victory over Tetricus; the coinage is therefore uncommon, and the legend appropriate, as having been struck after the re-union of the Roman empire.

The list is as follows:—

Gallienus	5
Aurelian	1
Victorinus	2
Tacitus	2
Probus	4
Diocletian	80
Maximian I.	93
Constantius I.	75
Maximian II.	80
Severus II.	10
Maximinus	10
Constantine I.	29

Total 391

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

SALE OF COINS.—The cabinet of the late Henry Boor, Esq., of Stamford, sold by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, on the 22nd of May, 1865, and following day, contained a few pieces of importance, as:—Lot 50. Edward VI. sovereign, 6th year. Fine—£5 10s. Lot 51. Edward VI. angel, *Rud.* pl. viii. n. 4; weight 76 grs.; m. m. sun on both sides—£32. Lot 172. Henry VIII. Irish three-farthing piece. Of great rarity; from the Martin sale—£1 14s.

SALE OF COINS.—The valuable collection of Greek and Roman coins, formed by a nobleman, was dispersed by Messrs. Sotheby on the 27th of June, 1865, and contained the following important coins:—Lot 95. Tiberius, 1 Æ ; minted at Turiaso—£5 17s. 6d. Lot 120. Vitellius, 1 Æ ; rev. Vitellius, sen. as "Censor Magister Morum"—£4. Lot 131. Nerva, 1 Æ ; rev. *VEHICULATIONE*, &c. Hadrian, 1 Æ ; rev. *EXERC. DACICUS*. A gem—£10. Lot 135. Marciana, 1 Æ ; rev. *carpentum* drawn by two elephants—£15. Lot 137. Hadrian, 1 Æ ; rev. *Ex. s. c.*; decastyle temple between two columns. Unpublished—£8 2s. 6d. Lot 143. Sabina, 1 Æ ; rev. Ceres seated. Extra fine—£6 10s. Lot 164. Caracalla, 1 Æ ; rev. the circus in the Via Appia—£12 12s. Lot 169. Geta, 1 Æ ; rev. Fortune—£7. Lot 202. Æ 9½, Constantinopolis; rev. *RESTITUTOR REIP*—£11. Lot 215. Antony; rev. Augustus, *N*; £5 5s. Lot 223. Antonia, *N*; rev. two torches. Fine and rare—£13 13s. Lot 242. Lucius Aelius, *N*; rev. Concord seated—£10 10s. Lot 300. Galerius Antoninus, 2 Æ ; rev. bust of Faustina, sen.—£6 6s. Lot 312. Aquilia Severa, 2 Æ ; rev. Concord—£7.

SALE OF COINS.—The valuable cabinet of the late Dr. Harrison, of Manchester, was dispersed by Messrs. Sotheby on the 20th of July, 1865, and two following days. The undermentioned pieces are deserving of notice:—Lot 2. Offa, King of Mercia. An unpublished variety—£17 10s. Lot 11. Ecgbeorht, Sole Monarch, with the King's name in monogram within a circle—£7 10s. Lot 16. Aelfred, *Rud.* pl. xv. n. 8—£5 10s. Lot 29. Harthacnut, *Rud.* pl. xxiv. n. 2, of the Watchet mint—£9 9s. Lot 80. Cromwell, pattern for a farthing, R ; rev. *CHARITIE AND CHANGE*—£4 15s. Lot 109. George III. double sovereign, 1820, by Pistrucci—£4 11s. Lot 144. Mary, Irish half groat—£5 10s. Lot 192. George I. pattern half-penny, 1724, for Ireland. Of beautiful execution, brilliant, and of extreme rarity—£5. Lot 308. Cleomenes III., King of Sparta, R 7; weight $254\frac{5}{10}$ grs.—£35. Lot 343. Dermes (Satrap), R 5. Extremely fine—£5 12s. 6d. Lot 432. Siculo Punic, type of Panormus; head of Ceres; rev. horse, crowned by a small winged genius, with Phœnician letters indicating that the coin was minted at Abacaenum or Hybla—£11 11s.

XVI.

COINS OF THE PTOLEMIES.

(Continued.)

4. COINS STRUCK IN CYPRUS, ATTRIBUTED TO PTOLEMY VII. PHILOMETOR, AND PTOLEMY IX. EUEGETES II.

BEFORE attempting to ascertain whether coins of Ptolemy VII. and Ptolemy IX. were struck in Cyprus, it will be necessary to give the chief dates of the reigns of these kings, adding those of their births, according to Lepsius ("Königsbuch der Aegypter," Tafeln, p. 9) and Böckh ("Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum," vol. iii. p. 288). I have combined the tables of both chronologers, giving their initials where they differ, and indicating in the same manner a statement taken from one only.

188	Philometor born (B.)	Epiphanes.	
182	Euergetes II. born (B.)	17	
181	Ptolemy V. Epiphanes dies (B.)	23	
"	Ptolemy VI. Eupator succeeds, reigns less than a year (L.)		
"	Ptolemy VII. Philometor succeeds	Philometor.	
"	Cleopatra I., his mother, regent about 7 years (L.)	1	
174	cir. Cleopatra I. dies (L.) [Eulæus and Lenæus regents]	"	
"	Philometor's ἀνακλητήρια (B.)	8	
170	Philometor taken prisoner [by Antiochus IV.] (L.)	"	
"	Ptolemy IX. Euergetes IV. born (B.)	12	
"	Philometor		Euergetes II.
168	[Antiochus	"	1
		14	3

		Philometor.	Euergetes II.
165	Philometor marries Cleopatra II., his sister	17	6
164	{ Philometor reigns alone (B.)	18	7
or			
164, 3	{ Ptolemy Euergetes II. goes to Cyrene (L.)		
146	Philometor dies (B.)	36	25
"	Ptolemy VIII. Philopator II. succeeds: killed (L.)	"	"
"	Ptolemy IX. Euergetes II. succeeds.	"	"
145	" divorces his wife, Cleopatra II., marries his brother's daughter, Cleopatra III. (B.)		26
143, 2	" Id. (L.)		28, 29
141	" reigns with the two Cleopatras.		30
132	" compelled to flee [end of joint reign, Cleopatra II. reigns alone] (B.)		39
130	" compelled to flee [Cleopatra reigns alone (L.)		41
127	" returns (L. B.), reigns with the two Cleopatras (L.)		44
117	" dies (B.), end of joint reign (L.)		54

Among the coins undoubtedly later than the series of Cyprus which I have assigned to Ptolemy V. Epiphanes is a class comprising at least two series, in which the latest date is $\text{N}\Delta$, 54. It has not escaped observation that the last year of Ptolemy Euergetes II. was his fifty-fourth. M. Pinder cites the coin published by Pellerin with the date $\text{N}\Sigma$ as a serious obstacle to this comparison. "Wollte man behaupten dass alle Münzen mit höheren Jahreszahlen als 40 ihm [Euergetes II.] und nicht dem Philadelphus zugehörten, so müsste man erweisen dass die Münze mit der Jahreszahl 56 (LNS), welche bei ihm unmöglich ist, in Pellerins Additions falsch abgebildet und beschrieben sei, was bei der Wichtigkeit die Pellerin diesem Datum beilegt eigentlich nicht wahrscheinlich ist." (Beiträge I., p. 212, note 1, cf. 212, 213). The coin may be thus described:—

Obv.—Head of Ptolemy IX. ? right, diademed.

Rev.— $\text{ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ}$. Eagle, left, on thunderbolt; in field, $\text{LNS} - \text{IIA}$.

(Pellerin, Additions, "Fleuron" of title-page, and pp. 79, *seqq.*)

It is remarkable that no other instance has been published of a date later than 54, though the coins of 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54 are known. What is the authority for a unique coin nowhere else mentioned? Curiously enough Pellerin raises a suspicion in the very same essay by publishing and engraving a still more remarkable coin. It is of the same series, with the date MH, 48, but instead of ΠΑ for the mint, the letter Δ (p. 83). This specimen must either be false, as fabricated or altered in the mint-letter, or else misread and incorrectly engraved. That the latter is probably the true explanation, and that the letter was Α not Δ, I shall later shew; at present it is enough to cite this coin to shake our reliance on the engravings of this work of Pellerin. If an explanation should be required of such a singular error as my view supposes, it will be found in Pellerin's own preface to the volume in question. The author, now ninety-five years old, speaks of himself as absolutely blind (*privé entièrement de la vue*), and explains how he in part wrote the MS. of this volume, using, when necessary, "the eyes" of some one acquainted with coins, &c. (pp. vii.—x.). The coin under consideration was acquired after the MS. had been some time completed (pp. xi., xii.). The other coin, with a mint-letter read Δ, seems to have been purchased at the same time (l. c.). Therefore in the case of the former, and probably in that of the latter, the blind author used the eyes of another, and we cannot on this evidence either doubt his judgment when he could see, or cite that judgment in support of what unfortunately he never saw. Various conjectures may be offered in explanation of the date on the first coin. The most likely would be that the first letter was M, which in this series sometimes approaches the form of N. Again the second letter may

have been altered by accident or design, and the original inscription have been NT. All things considered, the unsatisfactory evidence in favour of the date, and the ease with which, as engraved, it might have been produced by accident or design, it is not to be cited without good evidence of its genuineness.

Supposing, therefore, that the coins dated N are of the last year of Ptolemy IX. Euergetes II., we thus obtain a starting-point. A careful examination of the coins of this date will enable us to carry the series upwards. The heads on the coins of Paphos are of two types, A (Pl. VI. No. 1), B (No. 2); those of Salamis and Citium of one type, C (Salamis, No. 4; Citium, No. 5). A better instance of type B is taken from a coin of year 39 (No 3). In the year 49 a new type, D, begins at Paphos (No. 6; year 43, No. 7), which is evidently related to type A (No. 1), and in year 44 a new variety of type C, which we may call C *a*, appears at Salamis (No. 8) and Citium (No. 9). The coins of Paphos present one more type, E (No. 10, year 35; No. 11, year 25), which can be easily traced by a gradual change to type B (No. 2). Those of Salamis in like manner shew but one other type, F (No. 12, year 37; No. 15, year 32; No. 17, year 25), which is as clearly traceable to type C (Nos. 4, 5), probably through its variety C *a* (Nos. 8, 9). The coins of Citium first shew the same type (No. 13, year 37; No. 16, year 32; No. 18, year 26), sometimes approaching very nearly to type C (as in No. 13), and once interrupted by the occurrence of type E. In year 36 another type is found, G (No. 14, year 33), intermixed with F, which ultimately takes its place. This relation of mints, dates, and types may be more clearly seen in the following table of all exhibited by the Museum Collection:—



Α



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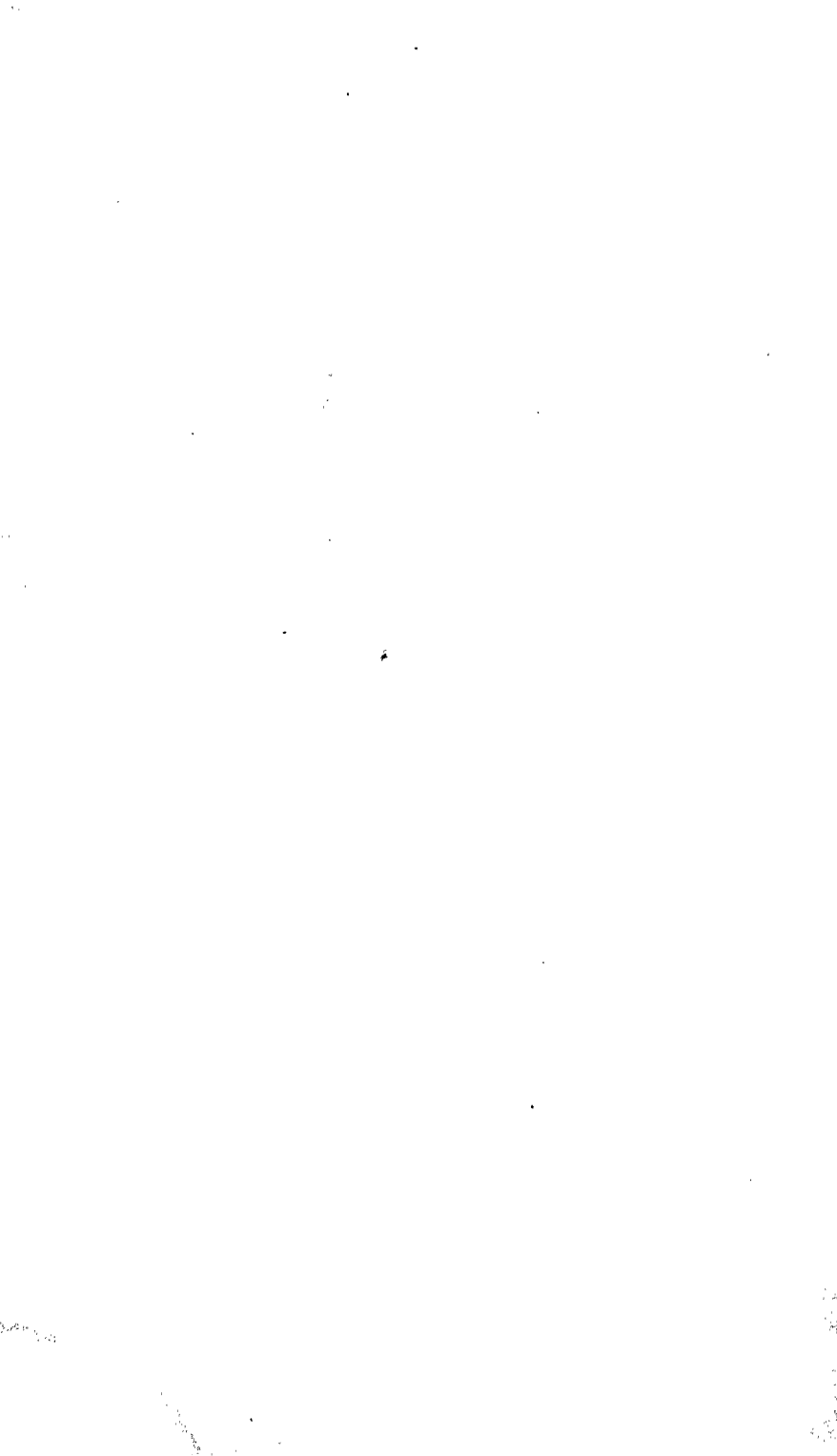


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Α

J. W. Fawcett. del. et sc.



MINTS, TYPES, AND DATES OF COINS OF PTOLEMY IX. Euergetes II.

Year of Reign.	IIA.	ΣA.	KI.
	A (IV.) B (II.) 54 (Pl. VI. No. 1) 54 (No. 2). Wreath below date.	C (VI.) 54 (No. 4) Star b. d.	54 (No. 5) Thunderbolt winged below.
53	53	53 Star below date. 2. Thunderbolt winged above.	53 Thunderbolt winged above; star below date.
52	52	52	
51	51	51	
50			
49	D (III.) 49 Cista below 49 date. (No. 6.)	49 Hat with ribbons below date.	49 Hat with ribbons below date.
48		48	48
47			
46			
45		C a. (V a.) 44 (No. 8).	44 (No. 9). F (V.) 43 42
44			
43	43 (No. 7.)		
42		F (V.) 41 Sceptre across eagle.	41 Sceptre across eagle. 40 Sceptre across eagle.
41			
40			
39	39 (No. 3).	39 Sceptre across eagle.	
38	38	38 Sceptre across eagle. Cista with ribbons above date.	E (I.) 38 Sceptre across eagle. Cista with ribbons above date.
37	37	37 (No. 12) Sceptre a. e.	37 (No. 13) Thyrsus across eagle.
36	E (I.)		G (VI.) 36
35	35 (No. 10).	36 Thyrsus across eagle.	
34		35	35
33	33	34	34 Star above date.
		33 Thyrsus or sceptre with ribbons b. d. 2. No symbol.	33 33 (No. 14). 2. Thyrsus or sceptre with ribbons b. d.
32	32	32 (No. 15) Hat with ribbons below date. 2. No symbol.	32 (No. 16) Hat with ribbons below date. 2. Aplustre below date. 3. id. 4. No symbol.
31		31	31 31?
30	30	30	30
29	29	29	29
28		28	28
27	27	27	
26			26 (No. 18).
25	25 (No. 11).	25 (No. 17).	

I have purposely used letters instead of numerals to denote types, adding in parentheses numeral designations, reckoned upwards, so that to classify a collection, the student can invert the table, and thus harmonize it with that of Ptolemy VII.

That these coins are all of one series may be thus shewn. The later dates have never been separated, and they must either be of the reign of Euergetes II. or of a successor dating from his predecessor's accession. In this manner we may class from 54 to 41. The coins of Salamis and Citium are connected by the occurrence on the reverses of those of the same years, or years not distant, of the same varieties of type, sceptre, &c., across eagle, or the same symbols in the same places, as is shewn in the table. There remain only the earlier coins of Paphos, and these are unmistakably connected by the types of head with the later ones.

All the types of head abruptly terminate with the year 25. If we compare them with the events of the reign of Euergetes II., there can be no reasonable doubt that they belong to it. The sole reign of this king began in his twenty-fifth year, dating from his first accession, as was the official usage during the period then commencing. In his thirty-ninth or forty-first year he was compelled to leave the kingdom and take refuge in Cyprus, and did not return until his forty-fourth. It is at this time that the coins of Paphos with his dates are wanting, and about this time that new types begin at Salamis and Citium. A change in the coinage is therefore exactly what we should expect. Its precise character will be afterwards discussed.

If this classification be admitted, there remains the earlier part of the class, forming another series agreeing



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J. R. Fairholt, del. et sc.

remarkably with the dates of the reign of Philometor, of which I give a table exhibiting the data afforded by the Museum Collection. In this case it is not necessary to begin with the latest coins. One leading type of head, I. (Pl. VII. Nos. 1, 2), runs throughout the coins of Paphos, from the earliest date in the series to the latest, and appears on the coins of both Salamis and Citium. Another type, II (Nos. 3, 8, 9, 11), occurs on the coins of Paphos, and also on the earliest I have seen of Salamis; recurring on the latest of Salamis, and also being found on the latest of Citium. Some curious varieties of type are noticeable, which I have marked as before by the addition of smaller letters.

That the coins with heads of the types I. and II. are of the same reign is evident from the style of the reverses in both inscription and device, of which any one who is able to examine a few specimens can easily convince himself. For instance, in the Museum Collection, the eagle of the coin of type I., year 19 (IIA), is very similar to that of type II. of the same year and mint; and that of type I., year 20, of the same mint, is identical with that of the latter.

The important gaps in the list, which I have been unable to fill up from other collections, remarkably confirm the attribution to Philometor.

The first date corresponds very nearly to the date of the end of Cleopatra's regency, speedily, perhaps almost immediately, followed by the king's *ἀνακλήθῃς* or coronation; the first event assigned by Lepsius to about his eighth year; the second by Böckh to the same. Bad government under the administration of Eulæus and Lenæus would account for the want of silver coins of the eighth, ninth, and tenth years. The eleventh, twelfth,

MINTS, TYPES, AND DATES OF COINS OF PTOLEMY VII.
PHILOMETOR.

Yr. of Regn.	ΠΑ.	ΣΑ.	ΚΙ.
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7	I. 7 Thunderbolt winged. (Pl. VII. No. 1).		
8			
9			
10			
11			
12			
13			
14			
15			
16			
17			
18			
19	II. 19 Thunderbolt winged (No. 2).		
20	20 Thunderbolt winged (No. 3).		II. 20 Club, with ribbons? b. d. Thunderbolt winged. (Qy. if this type?) (No. 9.)
21	21	II. 21 (No. 8).	
22	22	I. 22	
23			
24			
25			
26			
27			
28	I α. 28 (No. 4)		I. 28 I δ. (No. 10.) 29
29	29		
30			
31	I β. 31 I γ. 31 II α. 31 (No. 5) (No. 6) (No. 7)		I β. 31
32	32	32 Helmet below date.	
33	33		33 Helmet b.d. (No. 11). 2. Ear of wheat b. d.
34		34 Star below date. 2. No symbol.	34 Aplustre below date.
35			

thirteenth, and fourteenth were occupied by the Syrian war. Probably during the whole interval before the eighteenth year there were dissensions between the brothers, which might well have prevented the striking of money in Cyprus, especially if we remember the later designs of Euergetes upon this island. The sole reign of Philometor began in his eighteenth year, and accordingly we find the coinage to recommence in his nineteenth year, and continue at Paphos till the twenty-second, extending in time to Salamis and Citium; but the latest date (at Salamis) being the twenty-second year. From the twenty-second year until the twenty-eighth the Museum has no coins; then the coinage recommences at Paphos and Citium, and though not immediately resumed at Salamis, ultimately is found of all three mints. The rareness of coins of the twenty-third to the twenty-seventh years, for one intermediate date, 26 Paphos, is known, may well be explained by the contest for Cyprus. The dispute began B.C. 162, in the twentieth year; and Euergetes II. having invaded Cyprus, was defeated, and evidently forced to abandon his pretensions in B.C. 154, the twenty-eighth year. Perhaps Philometor after a time forbore to exercise the sovereign right of coining, in order to avoid a collision with the Roman Senate, which favoured the pretensions of Euergetes II.

If, then, we may provisionally class these coins to Philometor, it will be necessary to compare the heads they bear with his known portrait, to ascertain whether any light can be thus thrown upon their attribution.

There may often be a question whether the heads of the Ptolemaic coins of Cyprus represent the sovereign whose year they bear, or whether they are not traditional portraits of Ptolemy I. Perhaps the safest theory is, that

the reigning king's head is in such cases represented with the traits of that of the founder of the line. In the series under consideration, the principal type of head (I. Pl. VII., Nos. 1, 2) certainly does not come into this difficult class. It is an unquestionable and very characteristic portrait—characteristic in the extraordinary roundness of the lower part of the forehead, the deeply-sunk eye, falling towards the outer corner, the straight, rough eyebrow, the projecting chin, full cheek, and long, muscular neck.

The known portrait of Philometor is found on a didrachm in the Bibliothèque, at Paris. It may be thus described, from a cast :—

Obv.—Head, right, diademed.

Rev.—ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ]
ΘΕΟΥ. Eagle, left, on winged thunderbolt; behind eagle, palm-branch; between eagle and thunderbolt, ΙΑΙΑ; in field, right, π (Pl. VII., No. 12).

If the portrait of this coin be compared with the type of portrait already described, some remarkable differences will be perceived. The exterior outline is the same. The form of the forehead is less peculiar, unless the depressed upper part is concealed by the hair. There is no trace of the straight eyebrow; both eyelids are half-closed, which gives the face a sleepy aspect; and the cheek, instead of being full, is marked by the sharp outline of a prominent jawbone.

If we compare the head of this coin with the other type of head on the coins of Cyprus (II. Pl. VII., Nos. 3, &c.), we perceive that some of the difficulties disappear. This is especially the case with the later coins of the type (No. 11). In them the eyebrow has lost its straightness,

though still peculiar in form, and the cheek has the same shape as in the known portrait.

A further examination may shew where this coin was struck, and when, so that a reason may be found for the peculiarity of its portrait, and its resemblance to that of some later coins of the series of Cyprus.

On the reverse is a monogram, which may be read IITO. It also can be resolved into the latters IIO or IHO, but not in the order IOIL. I suppose it, therefore, to be of Ptolemaïs, not of Joppa. Beneath the eagle are the letters IA, which have hitherto been supposed to denote the date 14. But it must be observed that on no other coin of the Ptolemies, except some of those with the inscription ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, is the date of a regnal year reversed, and that no date is without the sign L, except in the class just mentioned, and that with high dates. It is therefore reasonable to doubt that this is a date, and to compare it with the inscription ΔI which is found on the coins of Ptolemy III. and Ptolemy IV. The other letters ΓA may not impossibly be for Gaza, if we may read them ΓA. The indications offered by the occurrence of the name of Ptolemaïs, and possibly that of Gaza, will furnish a clue to the date of the coin. It seems very doubtful whether Philometor held any part of Phœnicia until near the close of his reign. We know that the war with Antiochus Epiphanes was commenced after the death of Cleopatra, with the object of recovering Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, which had been lost to Egypt under the reign of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes. This attempt was wholly unsuccessful, the invading army being defeated near Pelusium, and Egypt itself falling in part into the hands of the Syrian king. When Antiochus was forced by the Roman embassy to leave Egypt, it does not seem that he was

required to yield up the disputed provinces, nor is it probable that he would have done so without resistance. The events of the end of the reign of Antiochus shew that he remained master of those provinces until his death. This is equally true of the reigns of Antiochus V. and Demetrius I., until the usurpation of Alexander I. The history of Judæa under the Maccabees gives us a very distinct idea of the state of the Syrian monarchy during this period; and Ptolemy Philometor must have been sufficiently occupied with the conflict with Euergetes not to have attempted again the enterprise which before nearly cost him his kingdom. When, however, Euergetes had been finally defeated in B.C. 154, it became possible for Philometor to turn his attention to Syria. For this he had good cause. Demetrius I. had taken the side of Euergetes, and accordingly Philometor formed a powerful confederacy in favour of Alexander I. Balas, who in B.C. 152 took Ptolemaïs from Demetrius by fraud. He does not seem, however, to have invaded the Syrian territories. In about B.C. 148 or 147 he took the field in support of Alexander Balas against Demetrius II., the son of the former king of the same name; and at Ptolemaïs he either discovered or suspected treachery, changed his policy, and declared for Demetrius. At the time of his entrance Ptolemaïs was in the hands of Alexander, and at once fell into Philometor's power, with a great part of the kingdom of Syria; and he actually was offered "the diadem of Asia" by the people of Antioch and the army, and accepted it, but at once transferred the regal power to Demetrius, and joined him in defeating Alexander, dying from the effects of a fall from his horse in the decisive battle B.C. 146.

(ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀναδείκνυται, καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς δύο περιίθεται

διαδήματα, ἐν μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. c. iv. § 7. See also for the two diadems, 1 Macc. xi. 13; Polybius, according to the present text, makes him king of Syria only. Didot. Reliq. xl. 12. Diod. Sic. says he received the diadem but was content to have Coele-Syria by agreement with Demetrius II. Didot, Frag. Hist. Græc. ii. p. xvi.) It was therefore during B.C. 148, 147, or 146—the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, or thirty-sixth year of Philometor—that he could have struck this coin. It may be well, as a confirmation of this view, to observe that coins of the Seleucidæ mentioned above, struck in the cities of Phœnicia, indicate that they had an uninterrupted rule there, though only those of Alexander I. Balas have dates.

If, therefore, there is good reason to suppose that the coin under consideration was struck by Philometor in his thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, or thirty-sixth year, we can understand its portrait's most nearly resembling that of the latest coins of Salamis and Citium. But there is another curious circumstance which seems to have hitherto escaped observation. The head on this coin is the head of a king of Syria, not of a king of Egypt. I do not know a single certain instance in which the portrait of a king of the Ptolemaïc dynasty is a head. It is always a bust. Still more, it is a bust with the chlamys, or a robe which most probably covers the chlamys. The portraits of the Seleucidæ, on the other hand, are uniformly heads, and of course without any dress. Is Philometor represented on this coin as a king of Syria? He was offered, and accepted, "the diadem of Asia." It may be a question whether Ptolemy, who was no longer a member of a confederacy supporting an adventurer, but the single

conqueror of Syria, did not determine to make Demetrius II., not an independent sovereign, but a vassal.

The coin is thus of value as connecting with Philometor that type of portrait on his coins which is least characteristic and predominant. Of the attribution of the leading type there could be no doubt so long as it was not irreconcilable with that of this coin; but the other type is sufficiently accidental to raise a suspicion of inaccurate classification, or some such conjecture as that it is a portrait of Euergetes with the dates of Philometor.

Before leaving this coin it may be well to remark that the occurrence of the palm-branch on the reverse has led to the idea that the potin series, with the same reverse-type and a portrait undoubtedly similar, is either of Philometor or Euergetes II., or of both of these kings. The workmanship of these coins ought to convince any one who has paid real attention to this important indication, and I shall be able in a later place to shew that their attribution to a subsequent sovereign is beyond reasonable doubt. This coin should rather be compared with the coins of Tyre, of Alexander I. Balas, which have the same reverse-type, so far as the eagle and palm-branch are concerned. It may be remarked that the coin of Ptolemy and those of Alexander are of the same age in their workmanship, though of very different styles, the one being probably by an Alexandrian artist, the others by a Tyrian.

A coin has been published and engraved by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. iv., p. 189, first figure, and Pl. vi., No. 19), which must be discussed before closing the investigation of the silver money of Ptolemy Philometor struck in Cyprus. The obverse has what I have termed type E of the coins of Euer-

getes II.; the reverse has, besides the ordinary inscription ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, on either side of the eagle $\begin{matrix} \text{LVI} & \text{KAI} \\ \text{A} & \text{IIA} \end{matrix}$ This may be read either "year 36 and 1 Paphos," as has been done by Mr. Reichardt, or else as "year 36 A and Paphos." Against the idea necessitated by the first reading, that KAI connects the regnal years of two sovereigns, it must be remarked that the only coins of the series that are known to bear double dates, the didrachms of Cleopatra III., and Ptolemy XI. Alexander I. (Schledehaus "Grote Münzstudien," p. 909, (Nr. VI.), Nos. 207, 209, 212), though but little later than the coin under consideration, which must be of Ptolemy VII. or Ptolemy IX., do not follow the usage supposed, the dates being written without any connecting KAI, and the lower date beneath the higher without L. Is it possible that the second reading is the true one, and that A is the initial of the name of a mint? In a very large collection of impressions and casts of the coins of the Ptolemies which Mr. Newton has most kindly placed at my disposal, I find a reverse which throws much light on this question. I cannot discover the obverse, but the coin can only be of the series ending ΝΑ. This reverse reads—

. . . ΑΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle, left, on thunderbolt.

LN IIA

On either side, star star. (Pl. VII. No. 13.)

A

Here there is no indication of a double date, the letter A being separated from LN by a star; and were there any possibility of reading the A as a date, it would be historically impossible. There is every reason to suppose that it is a mint-initial. If so, we might conjecture Amathus in

Cyprus, or Alexandria, the Egyptian capital. The latter conjecture is probably true for these reasons. It will be perceived, on referring to the table of types of head in the series to which both this and Mr. Reichardt's coin belong, that in the money with the mint-letters IIA, from the years 54 to 43 inclusive, there are two types, one of which begins in the year 37. I am disposed to think that this double coinage was for Paphos and Alexandria; that at first Paphos or Alexandria struck for both cities; that either immediately after the year 36, or some time afterwards, there were independent coinages of the two, which were again united in the year 50, to be again separated in 54. How far history bears out this conjecture, I shall endeavour to shew in a later part of this essay. There is, therefore, no necessity to consider this coin either as marking the last year of Ptolemy Philometor, whose coins cannot well be expected beyond the thirty-fifth year, or as rendering necessary a change in the ascription of the coins assigned to Ptolemy Euergetes II.

I purpose so far to deviate from the plan I have laid down as to describe the whole series of the reign of Ptolemy Philometor; maintaining the plan, however, in not discussing, except by the addition of an explanatory note, the ascription of any coins of other classes than that of Cyprus. It will be of advantage to shew how satisfactorily the coins of other classes afford an explanation of the gaps in the coinage of Cyprus.

REGINALD STUART POOLE.

XVII.

COINS OF LESBOS-LESBI, CONSIDERED AS A CITY
DISTINCT FROM THAT OF MYTILENE.

1. Four detached squares in relief, collectively forming a square (the counterpart of a quadripartite incuse).

Rev.—A shallow sunk square, the surface rough and irregular

Formerly in my possession. Potin 5. Weight, $168\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

2. Two calves' heads opposed; a sprig of olive between them.

Rev.—A sunk square, as the preceding.

Various collections. Leake, under Mytilene. Potin $4\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 171 grains.

3. Same types, but without the sprig of olive.

Various collections. Rollin and Feuardent's catalogue, No. 5043, under Mytilene. Potin $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. Weight, 11 grains.

4. Head of a calf to left.

Rev.—A sunk square, precisely as the preceding.

Leake, from the British Museum, under Mytilene. Potin 3. Weight, $83\frac{2}{10}$ grains.

5. Head of a boar, to left; in the field, $\Delta E \Sigma$.

Rev.—Rough quadratum incusum.

Leake, from the French collection, under Mytilene. Potin 1. Weight, $12\frac{4}{10}$ grains.

6. Head of Silenus, horned and with diadem, to right.

Rev.—Two rams' heads opposed, as if in the act of butting, and with a trifid flower between them.

Various collections. Electrum $1\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 39 grains.

7. Same head.

Rev.—Two calves' heads opposed, with a trifid flower between them.

Mionnet, No. 985, under Lebedos. Electrum 2.

8. Head of Bacchus, bearded, or beardless.

Rev.—Two calves' heads, as the preceding.

Mionnet, No. 983-84, under Lebedos. Electrum 2.

Leake, under Mytilene. Electrum $1\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, $39\frac{4}{10}$ grains.

9. Head of Minerva, with crested helmet, to right.

Rev.—Type as the last, but without the flower.

Mionnet, 982, under Lebedos. Electrum 2.

10. Same head, but without the crista on the helmet.

Rev.—Type precisely as the preceding, but between the ears of the calves the letters ΔE .

Mionnet, 981, under Lebedos. Electrum 2.

Leake, under Mytilene. Electrum 1. Weight, $38\frac{9}{10}$ grains.

There can be but little doubt that the coins above described under Nos. 1 to 5 were all issued from the same mint, and that Nos. 6 to 10, belonging to the class known as federal hectæ, were all struck in some Asiatic city for the same locality.

In reference to No. 5, with the letters $\Delta E\Sigma$, Leake (Num. Hell. Ins. Gr., p. 26) remarks in a note—"As there was no city Lesbos, *distinct from Mytilene*, the coins inscribed ΔE or $\Delta E\Sigma$ may safely be attributed to the

latter place, which was always the capital of the island, and in the time of Homer was called Lesbus, as appears from the *Λέσβον ἐνκριμένην* of the *Iliad*¹ (i. 83).” But notwithstanding an authority so high as that of the late Colonel, the following observations may possibly be thought to at least justify a reconsideration of the subject, with a view to ascertain whether “the well-built Lesbos” of Homer was in reality the same city as that known at a later period by the name of Mytilene.

Some few years since, being engaged in the perusal of Terrason’s translation of Diodorus Siculus, I was struck by the following passage. In the seventeenth book (509), treating of Memnon the Rhodian, during the war of Alexander against Dareius, he (the translator) says, “Il conduisit d’abord cette flotte, et ces soldats à Chios, qu’il attira à son parti : se rendant delà à Lesbos il se vit maître bientôt d’Aulisse, de Methymna, de Pyrrha, et d’Eresus, mais pour Mytilene, capitale de l’île, &c. ;” and here the translator adds in a note, “Il y a ici dans le Grec, après Mytilene, le mot ‘Lesbos,’ comme si Lesbos était, ainsi que les cinq autres, une des villes de l’île même, ce qui l’ancienne géographie ne nous apprend pas ;—Rhodoman a pourtant employé ce mot dans sa traduction, mais Cossus et Amyot l’avaient supprimé dans la leur.”

This narrative of the operations of Memnon in the island of Lesbos, immediately and vividly brought to my recollection the early coins in electrum and of base silver, which I knew were inscribed with the letters *ΛΕ* and *ΛΕΣ* respectively.

Now, as we know that, from the earliest times, the cities of Lesbos were so many small republics, more or

¹ This reference is wrong. The words occur in the *Iliad*, Lib. ix. v. 129 and 271.

less independent of each other, and as at no epoch, the Roman period excepted, do we find anything to justify the supposition that a general currency for the whole island was ever struck by the mutual consent of all those independent communities, the existence of these numismatic monuments would seem to confirm the truth of what Diodorus states, namely, that there did exist in Lesbos a town called by that name; but it is certainly very remarkable, should that be the case (and the historian cites it as one of the strongest in the island), that it is not mentioned by any other writer of his own or of any other period.

On a reperusal of the same work upon a subsequent occasion, I am inclined to think that Diodorus again refers to the same place, but without naming it, towards the end of the thirteenth book of Terrason's translation, where, speaking of a battle fought between the Athenian navarch, Conon, and the Spartan commander, Callicratides, after the former had been defeated at sea and driven into the port of Mytilene, he continues: —“ *Cependant comme la durée du combat devenait excessive, et qu'il y avait déjà un nombre prodigieux d'hommes tués de part et d'autre, Callicratides fit sonner la retraite, pour donner quelque repos à ses soldats, mais les ayant fait remonter peu de temps après sur leurs vaisseaux, leur vigueur et leur nombre firent enfin reculer les Athéniens, qu'ils poursuivirent jusque dans le port de la ville, auprès duquel le général Lacédémonien, malgré tous les obstacles qu'il rencontra, vint à bout de jeter l'ancre, car le combat s'était donné devant le grand port, plus beau que l'autre, mais qui n'appartenait proprement à Mytilene, c'était celui de l'ancienne ville, situé dans une petite île séparée, vis à vis de laquelle on a bâti la nouvelle ville dans Lesbos même. Or, entre la grande île et la petite, il y a un*

détroit, ou un euripe, où l'eau est prodigieusement agitée, et qui est de ce côté là, une defense considérable de la ville ; cependant Callicratides mit des troupes à terre en cet endroit même pour environner Mytilene de toutes parts, c'est là qu'en était alors ce siège."

The existence of a small island opposite to Mytilene, from which it was separated by a euripus, seems to point out the city which Diodorus, as has been already noticed, afterwards mentions under the name of Lesbos, as distinct from Mytilene. At present there is no such island, so that the euripus must have been, at some period, filled up, and the island joined to the mainland ; and in that case the Homeric city of Lesbos must have occupied the site of the modern castle of Mytilene, in the immediate vicinity of which, the coins under consideration, so far as regards those described under Nos. 1 to 5, are, as I am informed, usually discovered.

MAXIMILIAN BORRELL.

XVIII.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE
"JEWISH COINAGE."

SINCE writing my observations in the last number of the Numismatic Chronicle (pp. 191—216), on M. de Saulcy's criticisms, I have received from Dr. C. L. Grotefend, of Hanover, one of the honorary members of the Numismatic Society, a review of my "History of Jewish Coinage,"¹ and I feel happy to be able to add the name of so illustrious a numismatist to those I have already previously recorded as being of my opinion. Speaking of the shekels and half-shekels without the name of the issuer, Dr. Grotefend adds, "which de Saulcy obstinately (*hartnäckig*) attributes to the High Priest Jaddua, but which Madden, with Cavedoni and Levy, ascribes to Simon the Asmonæan."²

Dr. Grotefend records a new variety of one of the copper

¹ "Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande," 1865, p. 289.

² We may also add Belgium to the other countries in our favour. M. Renier Chalon, in reviewing my last paper, says:—"L'attribution à Yaddous ou Jaddua de sicles d'argent que l'autonomie donnée, d'après Josèphe, aux juifs par Alexandre le Grand, aurait permis à ce grand-prêtre de frapper, nous avait toujours paru assez contestable." (*Rev. Num. Belge*, 4ème Série, vol. iii. p. 472.)

coins of Simon Maccabæus. The ordinary type is as follows :—

Obv.—למאלף ציור. A cup or chalice.

Rev.—שנת ארבע. The *lulab* between two *ethrogs*. (Madden, p. 47, No. 10; De Sauley, pl. i. No. 8.) Æ. 5.

On the specimen in the possession of the Doctor, there is on the reverse, instead of the *lulab* (or branches tied in a bunch) a single *ethrog*, as upon the quarter-shekel (Madden, p. 47, No. 9; De Sauley, pl. i., No. 7); only it differs from this *ethrog* in that it is represented with the *stalk upwards*, as the two *ethrogs* on either side of the *lulab* on the ordinary type above described. This new specimen weighs 97·2 grains, which is very heavy.

Of the coins of Judas Aristobulus, which de Sauley had wrongly attributed to Judas Maccabæus, an error which he now avows, Dr. Grotefend has a new variety. It will be remembered that there is upon these coins the disputed words גדול or גדול.

It is as follows :—

יהוד
הכהן
גדול
וחבר

He says, "The characters גד of the second line (V 4 upon the coin) are plain enough; the whole legend, too, is in excellent preservation, and we cannot entertain a doubt on any one of the characters. But whether these two letters stand for the beginning of the word גדול (*illustris*), or the beginning and the end of the word גדול (*magnus*), I leave for future decision. I only remark that in the second line there has never been more than the above seven characters; in the third line, too, there can have stood nothing else before the word וחבר, as a leaf of the

wreath extends to the ו (*vau*), and the omission of the characters וי in this place cannot be possibly imagined." The publication of this variety, I confess, does not much advance the question. It is important to observe that this is the first example as yet discovered of the coins of Aristobulus having the article before the word (הוי); it is well known that the word הוי occurs upon the coins of Hyrcanus, Alexander Jannæus, and Antigonus.

I did not allude in my last paper to the new remarks made by M. de Saulcy on this question, and I here seize the opportunity. "On donne à ce prince les monnaies sur lesquelles se lit le nom de Judas suivi du titre de grand-prêtre (הכהן הגדול), ou de Cohen illustre (גליל). On m'a contesté cette dernière leçon; on aurait peut-être mieux fait, avant de me déclarer coupable d'une lecture d'imagination pure, de recourir à la monnaie elle-même qui m'a présenté ce mot. On aurait eu, il est vrai, la ressource de déclarer que si ce n'est pas moi, c'est le graveur du coin qui ne savait pas écrire sa langue. Je le veux bien; mais je fais appel aux numismatistes sans parti pris. Qu'ils prient M. Wigan de leur laisser lire et transcrire la légende de la pièce en question, et j'ai la conviction que ce n'est pas moi qui serai pris en faute."³

Now, as M. de Saulcy does not name his accuser, and as he is reviewing my work, it might appear that I had accused him of inventing the reading of גליל. If my readers, however, refer to what I have said in my book (p. 62), they will not find any such insinuation. Levy has said⁴ "The fact that on both specimens גליל remains, is certainly only an error of the engraver, for out of a *daleth* (א), as soon as the stroke to the right was negligently

³ *Rev. Num.*, 1864, p. 379. ⁴ "Jüd. Münzen," p. 55.

omitted, a Z might easily be formed;" whilst the late lamented Cavedoni writes⁵ "M. de Saulcy reads the adjective which follows the title KOHEN, GALVL, and explains it *Cohen illustre* in the sense of high-priest; but this would by no means accord with the genius of the Hebrew language, and I quite think it ought to be read KOHEN GADOL (High Priest), and should be written with a ך between ך and ל. In such small characters as almost escape the eye, it is easy to mistake ך for ל." I conclude it is to this statement that M. de Saulcy alludes.

With respect to the arrangement of the coins of Alexander Jannæus, Dr. Grotefend is of opinion that that proposed by M. de Saulcy is the best, but he had not then seen my last remarks about the so-called coin of Alexandra.

To pass over the intervening period at present, I may now allude to the coins of Eleazar and Simon Nasi, and I have much pleasure in here publishing a letter from Dr. Levy, of Breslau, who has kindly responded to my appeal:—

"DEAR SIR,

"In your review of M. de Saulcy's new classification you call upon me to give my opinion on certain points. This I would have done with pleasure had not very urgent business fully occupied my time, and had I become acquainted with the views of the French numismatist from his own paper. M. de Saulcy's first article has alone reached me; his new classification is only known to me through your article. Allow me to say a few prefatory words. I think that, after your lucid exposition of the whole question, there is but little to add; so that we may fairly cherish the hope that the French *savant*, whom we must in any case thank for his suggestions, will no longer insist upon maintaining his assertions to their full extent. I cannot for a moment blind myself to the fact that there are still many difficult questions to be solved in Jewish numismatic history. There is one

⁵ "Biblische Numismatik," vol. ii. p. 19, note 11.

thing, however, which I must dispute once for all, viz., that Eleazar of Modaim (אלעזר המדעי), the cotemporary of Ben-Cosiba, ever struck coins. Wherever he is mentioned in the Talmud, he is always represented as a kind of half saint, able to subdue his enemies rather by prayer than by the sword; and to this may be added the assertion of this very Rabbi (cf. Synhed., fol. 22 b), "that the square characters (the Aschurith) had not been changed" (כתב זה לשונותה כל עיקר); that is to say, the Thora was from its commencement written in the square character, and that this character had never undergone any modification. This is a strange contradiction to the inscription on his stamped coins.

"Finally, it is utterly impossible to ascribe the coins which bear the inscription שמעון נשיא ישראל, 'Simon, Prince of Israel,' to Simon III. Nasi; for this Simon probably never came into close contact with Ben-Cosiba, because the Sanhedrim, whose President was the 'Nasi,' held its sittings, after the destruction of Jerusalem, at Jamnia (Jabne), and afterwards in Usha; and there can be no doubt that the entire Sanhedrim, with its Nasi, never had any participation in Ben-Cosiba's revolt.

"Thus much for the present. When I have more leisure I hope to return again to this subject.

"With the utmost esteem, I beg to sign myself,

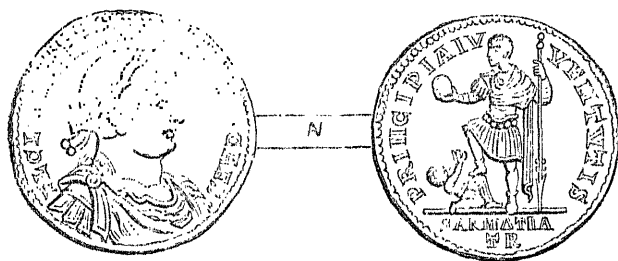
"Yours devotedly,

"PROFESSOR DR. LEVY.

"Breslau, October 23rd, 1865."

I may remark that the Padre Garrucci, in a letter to me, informs me that he quite agrees with me respecting the classification of the coins of Eleazar and Simon Nasi to the first revolt, but that he is at present studying the coins of the revolts, and hopes to send me shortly some observations on the whole question, which I will then lay before English readers.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.



XIX.

ON AN UNPUBLISHED GOLD MEDALLION OF
CONSTANTINE II.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Dec. 14th, 1865.]

Obv.—FL. CL. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. CAES.

Bust of Constantine II. to the right, laureated, with the paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—PRINCIPIA IVVENTVTIS. The Emperor standing to the left, holding a globe and a long sceptre, and placing the right foot on a captive. In the *exergue*, SARMATIA TR. N 9 +.

This magnificent medallion, which is in the British Museum, is not published by M. Cohen in his work on the “*Médailles Impériales*,” though a *solidus*, similar in all respects, excepting that the obverse legend ends NOB. C., and that the type is the “head of Constantine II., laureated to the right,” is given by Cohen as existing in the Musée de Danemarck.¹ In calling attention to this piece, it may not be uninteresting to make a few observations on the legends of the reverse.

I must first, however, remark that a precisely similar piece has been published by Banduri,² from Hardouin; and the former writer in a note says, “Nummum hunc

¹ “*Médailles Impériales*,” No. 36.

² “*Num. Imp. Rom.*,” vol. ii. p. 331.

rarissimum, imo singularem exscripsit Erud. Harduinus è schedis Peirescianis, monetque pondo esse quatuor solidorum." That this medallion was true is somewhat confirmed by the remark of Hardouin,³ who thought that "in weight it was equal to four *solidi*,"⁴ for the specimen I here publish weighs 303 grains, and would therefore be equal to four and a-half *solidi*.

The legend PRINCIPIA IVVENTVTIS is very puzzling, and one would be inclined at first sight to assume that an error had been made for the more usual formula of PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS, but the word PRINCIPIA occurs too often on the small brass coins of Crispus⁵ for us to admit this idea; and, moreover, the legend PRINCIPIVM IVVENTVTIS may be found on the gold coins of the Emperor Gratian.⁶ Now what is the meaning of *Principia* and *Principium*? Hardouin,⁷ with his usual sagacity (?), found no difficulty in the former word, and interprets it "*Principi primo*," saying "*nam A ibi primus est*;" to which Banduri⁸ has added, "*quam rectè, nemo non videt*." I must agree with M. Cohen,⁹ that this interpretation is not so completely *rectè*, but, on the contrary, that it is very unlikely, and that the legend is very obscure.

Eckhel has given the following explanation:—"Non videbor forte aberrare a scopo, si credam intelligi *principia*

³ "Opera Selecta," Addenda, fol. Amst. 1709, p. 934.

⁴ Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 101) alludes to this coin in the following terms:—"Nam quem similiter inscriptum Bandurius inter aureos Constantini jun. prodit, haustus est ex schedis Peirescianis, et nemini alteri conspectus."

⁵ Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 90—96.

⁶ Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 21.

⁷ "Opera Selecta," fol. Amst. 1709, p. 466.

⁸ "Num. Imp. Rom.," vol. ii. p. 317.

⁹ "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 199, *note*.

juventutis a Crispo in castris exacta, quorum imago est figura militaris partis aversæ. Quæ fuerint ejus adhuc juvenis clara facta bellica, supra diximus." The precise meaning of these remarks I confess myself unable to solve, but I conclude that he intends to say that "the *foremost ranks* of youth were demanded by Crispus in the camp," the word *principia* being used in the sense of the front rank of an army, by Livy,¹⁰ Tacitus,¹¹ and others. Even this suggestion is not, however, altogether satisfactory. It is yet worth observing that in some later writers the word *principia* is employed to represent *principales milites*. Vegetius¹² and Ammianus Marcellinus¹³ have both mentioned it, and we may therefore perhaps see in this form the acceptance by Constantine I. of his two sons, Crispus and Constantine (II.), as "chiefs of the youth," which is somewhat corroborated by the singular form *principium* occurring upon the coins of Gratian. I would not, however, press this view too closely.

From the word SARMATIA occurring on the coins of both Crispus and Constantine II., there is no doubt that there is here allusion to the Sarmatian war, A.D. 322,¹⁴ and not to the later war of A.D. 332,¹⁵ as Crispus was put to death in A.D. 326. In the excerpts of Dion Cassius, edited by Cardinal Mai, there is a curious passage relative

¹⁰ Lib. ii. 65.

¹¹ Lib. ii. 43. *Principia* was also a name for a wide street extending the whole length of the camp. Liv. lib. vii. 22, &c.

¹² "Antiqua ordinatione legionis exposita, principalium militum et (ut proprio utar vocabulo) *principiorum* nomina." Lib. ii. c. 7.

¹³ Lib. xv. ch. 5.

¹⁴ Zosim., lib. ii. 21.

¹⁵ Jerome, "Ann.," 2347. Two years afterwards a Sarmatian colony was received into the empire.

to the coinage issued by Constantine I. after this war. It is stated "that Licinius did not receive the gold coins on which Constantine had struck his victory over the Sarmatians, but, melting them, converted them to other uses, saying to those who objected to this, nothing, except that he did not wish that a barbarous production should be associated with the business dealings of his kingdom."¹⁶ No gold coins of Constantine I., however, with any allusion to Sarmatia, have at present been discovered, though a *denarius* is given by Eckhel,¹⁷ but not allowed by Cohen, and several small brass coins with the legend. SARMATIA DEVICTA¹⁸ have been preserved. In all probability the aged Constantine issued the gold coins for the glorification of his sons; the eldest of whom, Crispus, was allowed to carry off the glory of the successful issue of the war. As Constantine and Licinius were at war in the following year—A.D. 323—it is not unlikely that, if the former did strike any gold coins, the latter melted them, which would account for their rarity; it would be unwise to say that no specimen will ever be found.

The place of mintage of this medallion, as the *exergual* letters (TR) prove, was Trèves, which is not to be wondered at, as the government of Gaul was assigned to Constantine II. by his father.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

¹⁶ "Ὅτι Λικίνιος τὰ χρυσᾶ νομίσματα, ἐν οἷς ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος τὴν κατὰ Σαρματῶν αὐτοῦ νίκην ἐτύπωσε, οὐ προσεδέχετο, ἀλλ' ἀναχωρεύων αὐτὰ εἰς ἑτέρας μετέφερε χρήσεις, οὐδὲν ἄλλο τοῖς περὶ τοῦτο μεμφομένοις ἀποκρινόμενος, ἢ ὅτι οὐ βούλεται βάρβαρον ἐργασίαν ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμασι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἀναστρέφεται.—Dion Cass. "Excerpt. Vat.," ed. Sturz. vol. ix. p. 149. I have already in another place ("Handbook to Roman Numismatics," p. 137) called attention to this passage.

¹⁷ "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 87.

¹⁸ Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 156, No. 451; cf. Nos. 452, 453.

XX.

COINS OF ARCHBISHOPS JAENBERHT AND
ÆTHILHEARD.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, May 18, 1865.]

I HAVE the pleasure of calling the attention of the Society to some coins belonging to the interesting series issued from the Archiepiscopal Mint at Canterbury, and more especially to two of them which present some slight differences from the specimens already known, and which have lately come into my possession. Both bear the name of the Mercian king Offa upon them; but one was struck by Archbishop Jaenberht, and the other by his successor, Archbishop Æthilheard.

The coin of Jaenberht was dug up in a garden at Godmanstone, near Cerne, Dorset; and bears on the one side the inscription \diamond FFA REX in two lines, and on the other the legend IENBERHT T \overline{R} EP. The type is nearly the same as that of Hawkins, No. 140, and Ruding, pl. xii.; but the curves proceeding from the ends of the dotted line between \diamond FFA and REX are not continued round them, so as to form compartments; and there is a cross above one word and below the other, and numerous pellets in the field, especially around the X. The central device, on the other side, is not a mere star of eight points, but is a cross-pommée, with a detached

straight stroke in each of the spaces between the limbs, and with a circle of eight pellets described from the centre of the cross, at about two-thirds of the way along the limb. The O in Offa is of a diamond shape, instead of being round; and the name of the archbishop is spelt IENBERHT, instead of IAENBRHT. The weight of the coin is 18 grains, and it is engraved in Plate XIV., No. 1. A coin of the same type found at Southampton has just been published in the *Archæological Association Journal*, vol. xix. p. 353. Mr. Rashleigh possesses another with the diamond-shaped O in the king's name, but giving that of the Archbishop in the usual form.

My other coin is of Æthilheard, and was lately found at Bedford, where it came into the possession of Mr. James Wyatt, F.G.S., who kindly presented it to me. It bears on the one side the legend \mathfrak{A} EDILH \mathfrak{A} RD PON, and on the other OFFA REX \mathfrak{M} ERL. The central device, on either side, is a sort of star of six points, not unlike the Christian monogram \mathfrak{R} . The coin is considerably worn, but weighs $18\frac{3}{4}$ grains. It is engraved in Plate XIV., No. 2.

The other coins of Æthilheard, with the name of Offa upon them, are, as far as I at present know, as follows:—

1. *Obv.*— \mathfrak{A} EDILH \mathfrak{A} RD PONT— In centre \mathfrak{G}

2. *Rev.*— \diamond FF \mathfrak{A} REX \mathfrak{M} ER— In centre \mathfrak{G}

This coin, which is hitherto unpublished, is in the collection of Mr. Rashleigh, who has kindly communicated it to me. (Plate XIV., No. 3.)

2. *Obv.*— \mathfrak{A} EDILH \mathfrak{A} RD PONT. In centre a cross-crosslet.

Rev.— \diamond FF \mathfrak{A} in the field, between two semicircular compartments above and below, containing \mathfrak{M} REX. (Ruding, Pl. xii. Hawkins, No. 141.)

3. *Obv.*—+ \mathfrak{A} EDILH \mathfrak{A} RD \mathfrak{A} RLI, with \mathfrak{E} P in an inner circle.

Rev.—+ ◊ FFF Ω REX, divided by lines.

This coin, in the National collection, is described in the Num. Chron., 1st series, vol. iii., p. 157. It is engraved in Plate XIV., No. 4.

4. *Obv.*—+ TÆDILHEARD TR'L, with EP in an inner circle.

Rev.—+ O FF TR EX between the four limbs of a cross, with a circle for its centre, in which is Ω.

This coin is also in the British Museum. It is now engraved for the first time in Plate XIV., No. 5.

5. *Obv.*—TÆDIL HEARD TRCEPI, divided by lines.

Rev.—◊ FFF Ω REX arranged as on No. 3, but the Ω in a compartment with numerous dots.

This coin, which was formerly in the collection of the late Mr. Rolfe, of Sandwich, and is now in my own, was found at Richborough, and is described in C. Roach Smith's "Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne," p. 157, though now engraved for the first time in Plate XIV., No. 6.

6. *Obv.*—∴ TÆDILHEARD TR, EP in an inner circle.

Rev.—❖ LOENVVLF REX Ω between the limbs of a tribrach formed of double lines. (Ruding, xiii. 2. Hawkins, No. 142.)

7. *Obv.*—+ TÆDILHEARD TR, EP in an inner circle.

Rev.—As last, but the legend differently divided. (Ruding, pl. xiii., No. 3.)

8. *Obv.*—+ TÆDILHEARD TR, EP in an inner circle.

Rev.—+ LOENVVLF REX—Ω in an inner circle. (Ruding, pl. xiii. No. 4.)

9. As No. 8, but with ∴ instead of + at the commencement of the legends.

This coin, which is in the collection of Mr. Rashleigh, is engraved in Plate XIV. No. 7.

10. *Obv.*—As No. 8, but the EP in centre reversed.

Rev.—As No. 8.

This coin, which was found in Kent, was formerly in the late Mr. Rolfe's collection, and is now in my own. It is engraved in C. Roach Smith's Col. Ant., vol. i. pl. xxiii., but I have reproduced it in Plate XIV. No. 8.

Before considering the different titles given to Arch-

bishop Æthilheard, and their relation to the kings of Mercia, whose names appear associated with that of the Archbishop on the coins, it will be well to take a cursory glance at the connection between the Sec of Canterbury and the Kingdom of Mercia at the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth. The best account will be found in Dr. Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," and in Lingard's "Anglo-Saxon Church," whence I have largely borrowed.

Offa, whose name appears on these coins, became King of Mercia in A.D. 757, and Jaenberht¹ was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury on the 2nd of February, A.D. 766. After the battle of Otford,² in A.D. 774, and the defeat of the Kentish men, Offa appears to have assumed royal authority in Kent, and that ancient kingdom was designed by him to form only a province of Mercia. In order more fully to accomplish the degradation of Kent, he made the most strenuous efforts to curtail the powers of the See of Canterbury by alienating a number of the suffragan bishoprics from it, and at last succeeded by means of large bribes, judiciously administered at Rome, in procuring the elevation of Lichfield into an archiepiscopal see. At a Synod³ in A.D. 786, Jaenberht was compelled to release from their oath of canonical obedience all of his suffragans except the Bishops of Rochester, London, Selsey, Winchester, and Sherburn. "This year,"⁴ says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "there was a contentious synod at Cealchythe, and Archbishop Jaenbyrht gave up some portion of his bishopric, and Higebyrht was elected by

¹ Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," vol. i. 242; Ang. Sax. Chron. sub anno 763. According to the Historia Mon. S. Augustini Cantuariensis, he accepted the Archiepiscopate January 7, 762, and received the Pall in 764.

² Hook, p. 245.

³ Hook, Ibid, p. 252.

⁴ S. A. 785.

King Offa, and Egferth was consecrated king." This Egferth, or Egfrid, was the son of Offa, and succeeded him at his death on the throne of Mercia. On his coins, which are extremely rare, he is called Egeberht. What few of them there are, are probably Mercian, rather than Kentish, and on none of them does the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury appear in conjunction with that of the king. Of Alric, his predecessor, who was defeated by Offa at Otford, no coins are known. It is indeed remarkable that from the time of Ethilbert I., A.D. 568—615, until the reign of Eadbearht Præn, A.D. 794—798, there are no traces of a royal mint in Kent, unless, indeed, the coin attributed to Ethilred II. (Hawkins, No. 51) is to be accepted as genuine.

Neither are there any archiepiscopal coins known before those of Jaenberht, who seems to have been the first to establish a mint in Kent; assuming, as I think we are justified in doing, that the coins bearing his name, though bearing also the name of Offa, were struck by his authority, and not by the direct authority of Offa himself. The resemblance between these early Kentish coins and those of Offa is very striking, and it seems probable that some moneyer from the Mercian mint was employed to found that at Canterbury, even if the Ethelmod whose name occurs on the coins of Eadberht Præn, and of Offa, is not one and the same person. As to the date of the coins of Jaenberht, it seems hardly probable that they were struck prior to the battle of Otford, as in that case we should expect to find the name of the Kentish king Alric, rather than that of Offa, upon them. Neither does it at first sight seem probable that they were struck after the year 786, when the province of Canterbury was so extensively curtailed, and Lichfield

elevated into an archiepiscopal see, while at the same time Ecgferth, the son of Offa, was elected King of Kent, unless, indeed, a large amount of temporal power was left in the hands of the archbishop, at all events as far as Kent was concerned. That this, however, is after all not unlikely, appears from the fact that in numerous charters, from 787 downward, bearing the signature of Ecgferth, he never appears as King of Kent, but sometimes merely as "filius regis," and at other times simply as "rex" or "rex Merciorum." If any of these coins were struck after 786, the reason why we find the name of Offa and not that of Ecgferth upon them, is probably to be found in the fact that Kent was regarded as merely a province of Mercia. It is, however, useless to enter into so wide a field of speculation.

The death of Jaenberht took place on the ⁵ 11th of August, 790, and he was buried in the monastery of St. Augustine, at Canterbury, of which he had formerly been abbot. In ⁶ Thomas of Elmham's history of that foundation the following epitaph is given him :—

"Gemma sacerdotum, decus à tellure remotum
Clauditur hâc fossâ Jambertus, pulvis et ossa.
Hâc sub mole cinis, sed laus tua nescia finis,
Incola nunc cœli, populo succurre fidei."

Æthilheard, Abbot "Hludensis Monasterii" (probably Louth), or as some say, Abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Winchester, was elected archbishop in his stead. He does not, however, appear to have been consecrated as archbishop until the 21st of July, 793, when Florence of Worcester fixes the "ordinatio Æthilhardi archiepiscopi." He is, however, recognised as archbishop in a charter of Offa's, bearing date 790, and signs as such.

⁵ Flor. Wigorn. sub anno. According to. the Hist. Mon. S. Aug. Cant., it was August 12th, 789. ⁶ Page 335.

In 796 Offa died, and was succeeded by his son Ecgerth who in that same year followed his father to the grave, and was succeeded by his kinsman Coenvulf. The coins bearing the name of Æthilheard combined with that of Offa, must therefore have been struck between 790 and 796, and it is to be observed that they may be divided into two classes, viz., those with the title Pontifex, and those with that of Archiepiscopus. ⁷ It was at one time supposed that on all Æthilheard's coins struck during the reign of Offa, he appeared with merely the title of Pontifex, and that it was on his coins struck under Coenvulf that he was first dignified with the title of Archbishop; and a conjecture was made that this arose from the fact that it was not until the synod of Cloveshoo, October 9th to 12th, A.D. 803, that the archbishopric of Lichfield was abrogated, and that of Canterbury restored. Mr. Hawkins,⁸ however, so long ago as 1840, pointed out that a coin existed with the name of Æthilheard as archbishop, combined with that of Offa, which militated against this conjecture.

The existence of an archbishop with the pallium at Lichfield was not inconsistent with the existence of an archbishop claiming equal honour if not precedence at Canterbury; and we find both Jaenberht and Hygeberht, and, indeed, Æthilheard and Hygeberht, signing the same charters as archbishops. It is rather singular that Jaenberht not only claims the precedence of Hygeberht on all occasions, but usually signs himself as being "*gratiâ dei archiepiscopus*;" while Hygeberht signs himself simply "*archiepiscopus*," but in one instance as "*similiter archiepiscopus*."

⁷ See Num. Chron., vol. ii. p. 210; Lindsay's "Coins of the Heptarchy," p. 14.

⁸ Num. Chron., vol. iii. p. 157.

But though the different titles of Pontifex and Archiepiscopus are shown to bear no reference to the existence or abrogation of the Archbishopric at Lichfield, it appears to me that they are not without their significance. It was not until the tenth and eleventh centuries that "the rage for fantastic subscriptions worked even upon the titles of the bishops, and we have every variety of phrase by which their dignity could be described, as episcopus, sacerdos, antistes, prælatus, catascopus, speculator plebis dei, &c. &c.;" and I think that we must regard the coins with the title Pontifex as struck between the year 790, when Æthilheard was elected archbishop, and 793, when he was finally consecrated, and received the pallium.¹⁰ Certainly, as far as we know at present, there are none of his coins struck under Coenvulf on which he appears under any other title than that of archbishop.

We must now attempt to follow the fortunes of Æthilheard, after the death of Offa.

It will have been observed that, following Hoveden and some other chroniclers, and in accordance with the fact that a charter,¹¹ signed by Offa, and bearing date 796, is still extant, I have assumed that year as being the date of his death, rather than 794, as given in most MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. As before remarked,

⁹ Kemble, *Cod. Dipl. Ævi. Sax.*, vol. i. p. c.

¹⁰ The election of an archbishop had to be confirmed by the Pope. "The new Metropolitan might receive episcopal consecration from the bishops of the province, or some neighbouring archbishop, according to precedent or necessity; but he could not enter on the exercise of his office as Metropolitan—that is, claim the ordination of the bishops of the province, or call them to his synod, or sit on the episcopal throne—till he had obtained the papal confirmation; which was granted at his petition by the delivery to him of the pallium, the badge of the Metropolitan dignity, to be worn by him only during the celebration of mass and in the discharge of his duties as Metropolitan." (Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*," p. 118.)

¹¹ Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, p. lxxxvii.

Ecgferth succeeded Offa on the throne of Mercia; but he also died that same year, and was succeeded by Coenvulf. In Kent, however, Eadberht, surnamed Præn, obtained the royal power, claiming to be a collateral descendant of Æsc, the son of Hengist, and, as such, of the family of the ancient kings of Kent. Æthilheard, who was in the Mercian interest, opposed himself to one whom he regarded as an usurper, and maintained the right of Coenvulf to succeed to the whole of Offa's and Ecgferth's dominions. The loyal feeling of the men of Kent to one of their ancient Æscings was, however, too strong for him, and he became unpopular in consequence of being regarded as unpatriotic. ¹²Acting on the advice of his chaplain and other friends, he fled from his see, and retired to the Continent. It is rather significant of the temporal pomp of the archbishops of Canterbury of that time, that Æthilheard while travelling in France was warned ¹³ by Alcuin against giving offence to Charlemagne by the magnificence of his equipments and retinue, with their dresses of silk and ornaments of gold. We have already seen how both Jaenberht and he exercised the prerogative of coining money at a time when it would appear that the kings of Kent did not possess a mint.

But though retiring from his see, Æthilheard by no means entirely abrogated his archiepiscopal functions. Strange to say, Eadberht Præn, the new King of Kent, was in holy orders, and Æthilheard,* as his spiritual superior, pronounced sentence of excommunication upon him, a sentence which was afterwards confirmed by the Pope. Coenvulf in the meantime adopted even more practical measures, and in ¹⁴798 "laid waste Kent as

¹² Hook, *op. cit.*, p. 261. ¹³ William of Malmesbury. Hook, p. 262.

¹⁴ Ang. Sax. Chron., s. a. 796.

far as the marshes, and took Præn their king and led him bound into Mercia, and let his eyes be picked out, and his hands be cut off."

¹⁵ Æthilheard was then reinstated at Canterbury, and in 799 Hygeberht, Archbishop of Lichfield, ceased to sign as archbishop, and Æthilheard was ¹⁶ recognised as Primate of all England by Coenvulf in a charter by which he restores to the Church at Canterbury the lands and property abstracted by King Offa. Finally, in 803, the archbishopric of Lichfield was entirely abrogated, as may be seen in an ¹⁷ exultant charter of Æthilheard, beginning with "Gloria in excelsis Deo."

The death of Æthilheard took place in the year 805, when he was succeeded by Vulfred, who had been Archdeacon of Canterbury. It is probably to the period between 798 and 805 that the coins bearing the joint names of Æthilheard and Coenvulf are to be assigned. The tribrach on some of them, which occurs also on coins of Cuthred, seems possibly to represent the archiepiscopal pall, and leads to a presumption that the coins of Coenvulf bearing the same device were also struck in Kent.

It is worthy of notice that after the defeat of Eadberht, the kingdom of Kent was conferred on Cuthred by Coenvulf. The Archbishop, however, does not join the name of the Kentish king with his own upon his coins, but takes that of the Mercian king to whom Cuthred was tributary. His successors, Vulfred, Ceolnoth, Ethered, and Plegmund, went farther, and coined in their own sole names, omitting all reference to any regal authority.

JOHN EVANS.

¹⁵ Hook, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

¹⁶ Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, vol. v. pp. 56-58. Hook, p. 265.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 224.



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J. H. Foulke, del. et sc.

XXI.

WHO WERE THE "CUSTODES CUNEORUM" OF
THE ROYAL MINT?

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 15, 1864.]

IN the course of the very valuable disquisition which has recently occupied attention on the short-cross pennies of the English series, the writ of the fourth year of Henry III. for the improvement of the coinage has been quoted (see p. 288 of the present volume), from which we learn that Ilger, the king's goldsmith, and three others, were *Custodes Monetæ* of London; and Adam Blund, and seven others, *Custodes Cuneorum*. The precise nature of this office Ruding confesses himself unable to ascertain; but he points out that it was clearly distinct from the *Custodes Monetæ*. "The latter," remarks Mr. Evans, "seem to have been the responsible moneyers, whose names appeared upon the coins, while those of the *Custodes Cuneorum* seem not to have done so." He then quotes conclusive documentary evidence of that fact, and so the question rests at present.

Upon considering the form of the old coining irons, and remembering the mode in which all coins, or rather the blanks for coining, were then impressed by the hammer, I think there can be little doubt of the true

signification of the term employed to distinguish those custodians. A curious and unique representation of a coiner at work (contemporary with Henry's writ) occurs on the capital of a column, once belonging to the Abbey of St. George-de-Boscherville, in Normandy, and now, I believe, preserved in the museum at Rouen. The *standard*, or lower die, is there shown as fixed to some depth in the centre of a block, probably such as are still used by butchers; the blank being laid upon it, the upper die, or *trussel*, was laid upon it, and while it was held in the left hand of the coiner, he struck with his right hand a blow upon it, sufficiently powerful to impress the blank with the two dies, which made it legal money of the realm.¹

In 1834 there was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries a brief account of some ancient coining irons for the silver moneys of our kings Edward III. and Henry VII., which appear to have been in the custody of

¹ I have been thus minute in my description of this figure, because Mr. Field says that the upper die was "probably held in a *clipped* or *twisted hazel stick*, held in the hand of the coiner, while a labourer struck it with a sledge-hammer." All pictorial evidence is against this. In the curious series of woodcuts, by J. Ammon, published at Frankfort-on-the-Maine in 1564, delineating the professors of all arts and trades at their various occupations, the coiner is shown at work using the double die and hammer precisely as in the sculpture described above. In the description of the pageants and arches of triumph erected at Antwerp, in 1549, to welcome Philip of Spain, written at the order of the Town Council, by Graphæus, their secretary, is an engraving of the pageant erected at the expense of the officers of the Mint. In the centre Moneta herself, habited in a short robe of gold, over a long one of silver, receives money from Saturn to distribute among the populace. The god is using the hammer and die in the old style, proving that no alteration of this simple mode occurred, until the use of the mill and press stayed the hand of the coiner.

the officers of the Royal Exchequer. In 1844 a more lengthened account of them was prepared by Mr. John Field, and published in our Journal (vol. vi., pp. 18—22), accompanied by an excellent engraving of a pair of these irons, apparently used for the York half-groat of Edward III. As it is more than twenty years since this publication, and the volume containing it may not be easy of reference to all our members now, I here reproduce a diagram, one-fourth the size of the original die, copied from this plate.

Mr. Field observes that, "the standard or lower die appears from its formation to have been strongly fixed into a block of wood or iron, by means of the square spike or tang which forms the lower part of the die." I may also add that when the irons were not so provided, the entire die tapered downward and formed a *wedge*.

I think we have in this the solution of the question which heads this paper. The *Custodes Cuneorum* were the keepers of the dies, the distinctive appellation being derived from the *cuneus* or wedge which secured the standard. So very many instances occur of dog-Latin and bad Norman-French used to designate various articles in law papers and inventories of this period, that the real meaning of some of the terms is nearly, if not quite, incomprehensible. They are at least much more so than this term appears to be.

These keepers were evidently the most trustworthy and important officers attached to the mints; to them was confided the care of seeing that the right number, and the



right number of blanks only, were converted into current coin; but as they were in no way responsible for the quality of the metal, or the style of the dies, in fact, knew nothing of the moneyer's art, or the management of the mint; their names would not by natural consequence appear upon the coin. They simply took charge of the dies when not in use, so that no improper use might be made of them. The care that was taken to prevent illegal tampering, is evident from the fact that we thus find three distinct officers connected with the coinage:—the moneyer, the custodian of the money coined, and the custodian of the dies for coining it.

F. W. FAIRHOLT.

XXII.

REMARKS ON MR. POWELL'S SECOND PAPER,
"MARKING NOT MILLING."

IN the last part of the Numismatic Chronicle is a paper by Mr. E. J. Powell, called "Marking not Milling," which purports to contain a few remarks in reply to my paper entitled "Milling not Marking," published in the Chronicle, N.S., vol. iv., p. 133.

In justice to Mr. Powell, I must acknowledge that he has made out his case as respects the non-legality of the term "milling," as applied to the markings on the edges of our coinage, in a very satisfactory manner. He has also proved, from undoubted evidence, that in official documents issued by the Government the term "marking" is employed to designate that which is so commonly called "milling;" and I also must confess that had I seen or known the full particulars of the case mentioned by him, in which the well-considered decision of the twelve judges as to the meaning of the word "milling" was given, I should not have been so *reckless* as to offer any conjecture in opposition to such high authorities; but as I am not a member of the legal profession, I can hardly be expected to have legal authorities at my fingers' ends, or to be acquainted with the particulars of a case which occurred before I was born.

As regards the authorities I produced for the use of "milling" in its generally understood sense, I was anxious to quote popular works, rather than those that were strictly scientific, my object being to show that the term had been employed in the usually accepted sense certainly for more than a century, and probably much longer.

I believe I am correct in my assertion that "milling" has been used by "numismatists in general," and also that it is in constant use by numismatic writers.

I again repeat that there is considerable ambiguity in the application of the word "mill," as in the terms "coined by the mill and screw," or "mill and press." This ambiguity, I feel confident, Mr. Powell's position in the Mint would enable him satisfactorily to clear up, as, according to his own showing, "the question is capable of being settled by a description of the apparatus introduced by Blondeau in 1662, there can be no difficulty, as every portion of the machinery, engines, or instruments, then used in the process of coining, is well understood. They are in a great degree fully described by himself in the agreement." Now, if Mr. Powell would kindly furnish the Society with a copy of that agreement, it would be a most valuable addition to their records, and definitely settle this disputed question.

But while I fully admit the accuracy of Mr. Powell's statement as to the illegality of the application of the word "milling," I cannot in any way see that he invalidates the evidence I have produced of the use of the word, however faulty, in the sense understood by numismatists and others for at least 100 years, and the use of this term is apparent even in the decision of the twelve judges, in which milled money is so clearly defined. Now the objection raised in this case was that

the false money put off by the prisoner was not proved to have any marks of "milling" upon it, so they could not be considered as counterfeits of the current coin of the realm, on which "milling" formed an essential feature. This was overruled, the prisoner's conviction confirmed, and he was consequently executed. But I also observe the judges say that "by a vulgar error it (milling) is frequently supposed to mean the marking on the edge, which is properly termed graining or marking." Now what is a vulgar error? It implies an opinion that is generally received as true, although really erroneous. Sir Thomas Brown, in the middle of the seventeenth century, published a work on vulgar errors, the object of which was to expose the fallacy of certain then commonly received opinions now known to be equally ridiculous and erroneous. Still these things were formerly almost universally believed, and the object of the work was to expose their fallacy. The judges' opinion then, that the usual application of the word "milling" was a vulgar error, and the use of the same term in the objection, prove how generally this word was received as a description of the marking on the edge of the coinage; and the necessity the judges were under of consulting the authorities of the mint before they gave their decision, leads to the inference that even at that time it was not easy to ascertain the real or legal denomination of such markings. Hence, then, this decision affords, in my opinion, a strong corroboration of the correctness of my assertion as to the *general* use of this word in its usual acceptance.

This "vulgar error," the use of the word "milling," as it is usually employed, continues to the present day. During this controversy I have inquired of at the least two hundred persons, "What is the term used to designate

the markings on the edge of our coinage?" With two exceptions only the answer has been "*Milling*;" thus affording a proof of the very general use of this term, whereas the term "marking" appears to be scarcely known in the same sense. I must also remark that in the evidence of Sir Jasper Atkinson, as quoted by Mr. Powell, we have a description of the process called marking, closely agreeing with that given me by the gentleman belonging to the Mint who supplied me with the information I detailed in my last paper. It is there said to be "for the purpose of raising up the metal to fill the protecting edge of the coin to be struck, &c., and to prevent any difficulties in the operation of stamping." We have here not the slightest allusion to its being employed for producing what we call "milling," the process being a totally different one. I consider this as conclusive against the substitution of the term "marking" for "milling."

As I have just mentioned a gentleman belonging to the Mint from whom I obtained my information as to "Mint affairs," and as Mr. Powell "demurs to the statement," I can only assure him, most positively, that were I to mention the name, which I do not deem it prudent to do, lest ill-feeling should be excited, Mr. Powell himself would confess that it would be impossible to produce a more competent authority as regards "Mint affairs."

Whatever may be said for or against the term "grain-ing," I conclude by renewing my protest against the change of "milling" to "marking," not only on account of the confusion it would be likely to produce, but also because of the process of marking being, according to Sir Jasper Atkinson's evidence, a totally different operation to that commonly known as "milling."

JOHN WILLIAMS.

NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In No. 4 (July—August) of the *Revue Numismatique* there are the following articles:—

1. "Attribution of some Gaulish anepigraphous Coins," by M. E. Hucher.
2. "The Letter B on the Coins of Byzantium," by M. W. H. Waddington.
3. "Coins of Heracleon, murderer of Antiochus VIII., Epiphanes Gryphus," by M. F. de Sauley.
4. "Silver Coin of Euphemia, wife of Anthemius," by M. H. Poydenot.
5. "Gold Suevo-Lusitanian Coins," by Messrs. E. A. Allen and H. N. Teixeira.

This account is very interesting as showing the *locus* of a very remarkable and peculiar fabric of gold *trientes*. Such publications are extremely useful to science.

6. Coins of the Middle Ages found at Paladru (Isère). Inedited *denier* of Peter II., Count of Savoy," by M. R. Géry.
7. "Inedited Coins of Fringo—a small imperial fief in the territory of Asti, Italy," by M. Morel-Fatio.

In the *troisième livraison* of the *Revue Numismatique Belge* for 1865, there are the following articles:—

1. "Numismatology of Tournay. Gallo-Roman Coins attributed to Tournay," by M. le Comte de Nédouchel.
2. "Some Jetons of the receivers of Brussels in the Fourteenth Century," by M. R. Chalon.
3. "Gold Medal offered by the Inhabitants of Brussels to Nicolas Jean Rouppe in the year VIII.," by M. Ed. Van den Broeck.
4. "Numismatology of ancient Flanders. Notes and Documents," by M. J. van der Straeten.
5. "Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des Monnaies XIV., XV., et XVI. Siècles," by M. de la Fons-Melicocq.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of various numismatic publications.

In the *quatrième livraison* of the *Revue Numismatique Belge* for 1865, there are the following articles:—

1. "Find of Coins at Nederheim, province of Limbourg; Letter to M. Jules Pety de Thozée," by M. A. Perreau.

2. "Inedited Roman and Imperial Greek Coins," by M. J. Sabatier.

3. "Coins of Cortemiglio and of Ponzone," by M. Morel-Fatio.

4. "Medallion and ancient gold Coin found in Friesland," by M. J. Dirks.

5. "Medal of Elizabeth or Isabel-Claire-Eugénie, Infanta of Spain" (1621), by M. J. Dirks.

6. "Seal of the magistrat of St. Pierre, at Maestricht," by M. R. Chalon.

7. "Honorary Medals of the Principality of Liège," by M. A. Perreau.

9. "Inedited Coin of Gangelt," by M. A. Perreau.

9. "Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des Monnaies," by M. de la Fons-Melicocq.

In the *Correspondance* is a letter to M. R. Chalon, President of the Numismatic Society of Belgium, from M. le Vicomte P. d'Amécourt, President of the Numismatic and Archæological Society of France, assuring him that the *Société Française de Numismatique* is not dead, as M. Chalon had announced in the previous number, but in a fair state of prosperity.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of recent numismatic publications.

MÉDAILLES ET JETONS DES NUMISMATES DÉCRITS, par ANTONY DURAND. 4to. Geneva, 1865.

It is now rather more than a century ago since Hirsch published his "*Bibliotheca Numismatica*," giving a catalogue of all authors, ancient and modern, who had written on coins and coinage; and now M. Durand gives us what, had it appeared at the time, might have been considered a supplement to Hirsch's book. During the century, however, which has intervened, not only have numerous eminent numismatists enriched the science by their works, but either they or their friends have much more frequently adopted the practice of transmitting their likenesses to posterity in a medallion form. M. Durand describes medals, jettons, and tokens of no less than two hundred and eighty-five numismatists and collectors of coins, among whom may be reckoned a number of our countrymen. Even as a biographical dictionary of numismatists his book is useful, while to collectors of medals it is almost indispensable. It is illustrated by twenty plates of medals, which, in the majority of cases, are now engraved for the first time.

REPERTORIUM DER STEIERISCHEN MÜNZKUNDE, von DR. FRIEDRICH PICHLER. 1st vol. 8vo. Grätz, 1865.

IN this volume Dr. Pichler presents his readers with—1st, an account of the progress of numismatic studies in Styria, including a notice of the formation of the collection of coins in the Johanneum at Grätz, and biographies of some of its curators and of Styrian numismatists; 2nd, a detailed account of the Keltic coinage of the country, which is illustrated by a map, showing the localities where coins of this class have been found, and by three plates of the coins themselves; 3rd, a notice of Roman, consular, and family coins found in Styria; and, lastly, an Appendix on the Keltic linguistic monuments of the country. Although, from the great number of facts which have been carefully collected and well arranged by Dr. Pichler, this work must be of great local interest, it can hardly present so many attractions to the English as to the Styrian numismatists. The notes, however, upon the family coins are full of well-condensed information; and those who are interested in the Keltic coinage will find in the plates numerous barbarous imitations of the tetradrachms of Philip of Macedon, which are so frequently catalogued as of Gaulish or even British origin, instead of being referred to their proper homes in Noricum and Pannonia.

MISCELLANEA.

FIND OF COINS.—In the course of the present autumn some workmen employed on the new line of railway from Doncaster to Thorne, discovered, in the course of their excavations, in land purchased from Sir Wm. Cooke, Bart., at Bentley Ings, a mile and a quarter from Doncaster, an urn containing a number of Roman coins. The urn was broken, and the coins, which I believe were all denarii, dispersed among various tradesmen and others at and near Doncaster. On a recent visit to that town I had the opportunity of examining some of the coins, since which time Mr. W. Sheardown, of Hall Cross Hill, has furnished me with the particulars given above, and a list of some of the coins which he has examined. They are as follows:—M. Antony (legionary), Augustus, Nero, Galba, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Sabina, Antoninus Pius, Faustina I. and II., Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and Lucilla. Some of the later coins are in fine condition, but I did not notice any rare reverses among them.

J. E.

THE WIGAN COLLECTION OF ROMAN GOLD COINS.—I have been requested by M. Henry Cohen to publish his explanation of the mistakes to which I alluded in my second paper on the "Wigan Collection," and I have much pleasure in complying with his wishes.

"Peu de temps avant l'acquisition que fit M. Wigan de la collection de médailles d'or de M. Dupré, M. Dupré avait cédé à d'autres personnes ses médaillons d'or et la partie la moins importante de ses médailles. Par conséquent ayant vu chez M. Dupré sa collection entière dont il avait conservé les empreintes je n'ai plus songé, lorsque j'ai fait mon ouvrage, et que j'ai travaillé d'après ses empreintes, que M. Wigan n'avait pas acheté la totalité de sa suite; que c'est là la cause de mon erreur, mais que du reste toutes les médailles que j'ai citées à tort comme appartenant à M. Wigan avaient appartenu autrefois à M. Dupré, et que dans mon supplément c'est mon intention d'expliquer cette circonstance."

F. W. M.

THE LATE MONSIGNOR ABBATE PROF. D. CELESTINO CAVEDONI.—The numerous works of Cavedoni have for the most part appeared in the *Memoire di Religione di Morale, e di Letteratura*, a Modenese publication of limited circulation. Others are included in the transactions of Academies, or are dispersed in Reviews, Annals, and periodicals of Numismatics and Archæology. It has been thought desirable to institute researches concerning all the works of Cavedoni, both published and in MS., that Italy and other countries should know what treasures Cavedoni has left; and it is gratifying to hear that the Minister of Public Instruction has ordered a preliminary report to be made to him, and has entrusted this difficult task to Sig. Carlo Gonzales. This gentleman would feel pleased to receive any information of any letters, &c., that may be in the hands of English numismatists and antiquaries. His address is "Palazzo Ricasoli, via delle Terme, Florence." We may be allowed to repeat the hope expressed in the *L'Opinion* of Italy, 13 December, 1865, that the Minister of Public Instruction will order the publication of the entire works of Cavedoni, at the expense of the State, not only in the interest of science and for the glory of Italy, but to render a just tribute of admiration to a man who was recognised by learned Europe as the first numismatist of the age.

F. W. M.

ERRATUM.—P. 228, line 27, *for* Conrad, Bishop of Belzburg, *read* Conrad I. von Veltberg, Bishop of Osnabrück.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1864—1865.

OCTOBER 20, 1864.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid upon the table :—

1. Photographic Journal, Nos. 147—150.
2. Dichiarazione di Alcuni esagi Bizantini inediti, by C. Cavedoni. From the Author.
3. Dichiarazione di Alcune monete Imperiale di Sicione dell' Achaia, by C. Cavedoni. From the Author.
4. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 2d and 3d parts for 1864. From the Society.
5. Revue de la Numismatique Belge, 3ème livraison. From the Society.
6. Proceedings of the Manchester Numismatic Society, Part I. From the Society.
7. Berliner-Blätter für Münz- Siegel- und Wappenkunde, Berlin, 1864, vol. ii., first part. From M. de Köhne.
8. History of Jewish Coinage, and of Money in the Old and New Testament, by Frederic W. Madden, M.R.S.L., 8vo., 1864. From the Author.

Mr. W. B. Dickinson exhibited a side-faced groat of the second coinage of Henry VIII., and of the usual type, but with the numerals VII. instead of VIII.

The Rev. J. H. Marsden communicated a notice of some coins of Æthelred II., which formed part of the hoard discovered at Ipswich in the autumn of last year. They are all of the Hand of Providence type, and comprise coins minted at Canterbury, Dover, Huntingdon, Ipswich, Maldon, Norwich, and Thetford.

Mr. Evans read a paper on a counterfeit groat of Henry VIII., which had lately been found with several other pieces of the same character, including one of the half-groat size, at Paris. It is printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. iv., p. 248.

Mr. Williams read a paper "On an example of Chinese Paper Currency of the Ming Dynasty." This paper is printed in full in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iv., p. 255.

Mr. Madden read a paper by himself "On a Collection of Roman Gold Coins presented by Edward Wigan, Esq., to the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum," in which he pointed out the value and importance of the gift, no donation of a similar kind, except that of Mr. de Salis in 1859, having ever been made to the Museum during the lifetime of the donor. Out of the 291 coins selected for the Museum there are no less than 92 only existing in this collection, including some of the greatest rarities of the Roman series. The total value of the collection, as given by M. Cohen in his work on Roman coins, amounts to 79,924 francs, or about £3,200; but there is not much doubt that many of the specimens are undervalued. This paper is printed in full in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v., p. 1 and p. 81.

NOVEMBER 17, 1864.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

S. F. Corkran, Esq., and Captain Stubbs, R.H.A., were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced, and placed upon the table :—

1. Medal of Lient.-General Fox. On the obverse L^T. GEN^L. C. R. FOX ÆT. SVÆ LXVI NOV. VI. 1862. His bust to the left. On the reverse an open book, inscribed :—

GREEK COINS.

Λ =	. . .	285
℞ =	. . .	3580
Æ =	. . .	6168
		<hr/>
Total	. . .	10033

Below, the fac-simile of the signature, C. R. Fox. From General Fox.

2. Photographic Journal, November 15, 1864, No. 151.

3. Disamina della nuova edizione della Numismatica Constantiniana del P. Raffaele Garrucci, by C. Cavedoni. From the Author.

4. Zeitschrift des Vereins zur erforschung der Rheinischen Geschichte und Alterthümer im Mainz, 1864. From the Society.

5. Supplements to the Transactions of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, III., No. 2, 3. 4. No. 2, Sse-schu, Schu-King, Schi-King, in Mandschuischen Uebersetzung, mit einem Mandschu-Deutschen Wörterbuch, by H. C. von der Gabelentz. II. Heft. No. 3. Die Post- und Reise-routen des Orient, by M. A. Sprenger. I. Heft. No. 4. Indische Hausregeler Sanskrit und Deutsch, by M. Adolf Friedrich Stenzler. 1 Âçvalâyana. 1 Heft, text.

Mr. C. R. Taylor exhibited three double-Rigsdaler pieces of Denmark. 1. Of Frederick VII., struck on his accession in 1854; 2. A memorial piece, with the heads of Frederick VII. and Christian IX. on the obverse and reverse, and recording the date of the death of the one, and of the accession of the other; and 3, of Christian IX., with the date 1864.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a large number of small brass coins lately found in excavating for the foundations of a warehouse in Southwark. They are nearly all of Tetricus I. and II., and of Victorinus, or barbarous imitations of the coins of those Emperors, probably struck in this country, and which so frequently occur associated with Roman remains.

Mr. Cecil Brent also exhibited about thirty coins of the same class, and from the same find.

Mr. C. Roach Smith exhibited, by permission of Mrs. Silvester, the owner, two coins found at Springhead, near Southfleet, a spot where several ancient British coins have been found, as well as numerous Roman remains, some of which are described in the *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i., and in the *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. Both coins are of brass: the one British, and presenting a hitherto unpublished type; the other Gaulish, and also apparently unpublished. The British coin is in very poor preservation, but appears to be as follows:—*Obv.* Head in profile to right, the hair formed by open crescents arranged round two beaded lines at a right angle, which divide it from the face. *Rev.* Horse to the left; above, a crescent. *Æ.* The Gaulish coin belongs to a class which has been ascribed to the *Ædui*:—*Obv.* Bear walking to the right on a beaded exergual line. *Rev.* Horse to the right; above, a straight line running down to the back and terminating in a small annulet; in the field various annulets. *Æ.*

Mr. Akerman communicated a notice of a small gold coin found near Canterbury. This paper is printed in full in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v. p. 166.

Mr. D. Pierides communicated an account of an inedited copper coin of Evagoras, found in Cyprus. This paper is printed in full in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v. p. 165.

Mr. Madden read a paper by himself "On some Gold Coins bearing the name of Theodosius," in which he showed that M. Cohen has erred in attributing to Theodosius I. some gold coins with the full-faced helmeted bust, which may with far greater

show of reason be assigned to Theodosius II. This paper is printed in full in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v. p. 161.

Mr. Evans read a letter from Mr. J. Harland, F.S.A., accompanied by some extracts from the *Manchester Guardian* of Aug. 16, 1864, respecting the find of silver coins at Eccles. A hope was expressed that the officials of the Duchy of Lancaster, who have claimed the coins, will allow them to be examined by some competent person, as they will no doubt throw some light on the still agitated "short-cross question." They have since been sent to the British Museum for examination, and the bulk of them afterwards passed into the possession of Mr. Evans. See *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v. p. 219 and p. 255.

DECEMBER 15, 1864.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

T. W. U. Robinson, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Rivista della Numismatica Antica e Moderna*, edited by Agostino Olivieri. Vol. i. Fascicolo II. and III. Asti, 1864. From the Editor.

2. *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthums-freunden im Rheinlande*, xxxvi., Achtzehnter Jahrgang ii., 1864. From the Rhineland Archæological Society.

3. *Die Grippswalder Matronen- und Mercurius-steine*, by Franz Fielder. From the Author.

4. *Proceedings of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. iv., N.S., April, 1864, No. 44. From the Society.

5. *Curiosités Numismatiques, Monnaies rares ou inédites*, by M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

Mr. C. Roach Smith exhibited a penny of Ciolwulf found in

Bedfordshire, and of a hitherto unpublished type. His account of it is published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v. p. 168.

The Rev. J. H. Pollexfen exhibited a Greek imperial coin of Commodus, found at Colchester, struck at Nicomedia, with the legend ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΙΩΝ ΔΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ.

Mr. Smallfield exhibited a specimen of leather money for "five shillings," struck for the overseers of the Birmingham workhouse at the beginning of the present century; also an impression of the plate for one of the value of half-a-crown.

Mr. Madden read a paper, communicated by the Rev. C. Babington, B.D., "On an Unpublished Tetradrachm of Lysimachus, probably struck at Byzantium, reading ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟ, with Remarks on this Form of the Genitive; together with a Brief Notice of other Unpublished Coins of Lysimachus in the Author's Cabinet, and of a Gold Octodrachm of Arsinoë, struck at Tyre." This paper is printed in full in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v. p. 181.

Sir Charles G. Young, Garter King of Arms, communicated some notes "On some Variations in the Bearing of the Royal Arms as exhibited on Coins." This paper is printed in full in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iv. p. 252.

Mr. E. J. Powell communicated a paper "On Marking *not* Milling," in which he maintained the correctness of his views as to the proper use of these terms, notwithstanding the objections raised by Mr. Williams. This paper is printed in full in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v. p. 298.

The Rev. J. H. Pollexfen read a paper "On some Gold Ornaments and Silver Coins found in June, 1863, in the Island of Bute." This paper is printed in full in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v. p. 57.

JANUARY 19, 1865.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Cecil Brent, Esq., Arthur Coombs, Esq., T. D. E. Gunston, Esq., and J. Wentworth Roughton, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table :—

1. Photographic Journal, Nos. 152, 153, Dec. 18th, Jan. 1865.

2. Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 32 année, 2ème Série, t. xv. t. xvi. 1863, t. xvii. 1864. From the Academy.

3. Godefroid de Bouillon, by M. le Baron de Hody. From the Author.

Mr. C. Roach Smith exhibited a drawing of a small silver piece found in the garden of the Benedictine convent at Winchester. On the obverse is a full-faced bust of a bishop, in his right hand a crozier, to his left a crescent. On the reverse is an ornamental cross, the ends *patée* and with annulets on the limbs, crescents and pellets being alternately in the angles formed by the cross. It resembles very closely the coin engraved in Lelewel's "Numismatique du Moyen Age," pl. xx. No. 29, and was probably struck by a Bishop of Cambrai in the thirteenth century.

Mr. Freudenthal exhibited patterns, twenty-two in number, for the new copper and silver coinage of Hong-Hong, of which he gave a short description. See Numismatic Chronicle, vol. v. p. 77.

Mr. C. Roach Smith exhibited two Anglo-Saxon coins found at Bradwell-juxta-Mare, Essex, in the ruins of what is supposed to be the lost station Othona. One is a sceatta, of much the same type as Ruding, pl. i. No. 71; the other is apparently of the same general character as the penny of Coenwulf (Ruding, pl. vii. No. 24), but the obverse legend is

+ LVORLOO retrograde, and that on the reverse TVR. The name of TVR does not seem to occur in the published lists of the moneyers of Coenwulf; and judging from the large size and general character of the coin, it would appear to be an imitation of the period. The coins are in the possession of Mr. J. Oxley Parker, of Woodham Mortimer, Maldon, who was also the discoverer of the Roman station.

Mr. G. Sim sent a notice of recent finds of coins in Scotland, some of which were discovered near a ruin called "the Luggie," on Fala Muir, and others on the farm of Lewinshope, in Selkirkshire. The former find consisted of twenty-one coins of Charles I., Charles II., and George II.; the latter of short-cross pennies of Henry III. (?)

Mr. Madden read a paper by himself "On Roman Coins bearing the numerals XCVI," in which he advocated their interpretation as "96 pieces to the pound of silver." See Numismatic Chronicle, vol. v. p. 76.

Mr. Madden read a paper by himself "On a coin of a new city of Mysia reading IPIMENO@YPEQN." See Numismatic Chronicle, vol. v. p. 172.

Mr. Madden read some remarks by himself on a paper recently published by Mr. Edward Rapp, of Bonn, entitled "An as yet unknown Silver Coin of the Time of the Roman Civil War," which is attributed by this gentleman to Sertorius. Mr. Madden gave reasons for regarding it as a fabrication. See Numismatic Chronicle, vol. v. p. 74.

FEBRUARY 16, 1865.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Samuel Smith, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced, and laid upon the table :—

1. *Photographic Journal*, No. 154, Feb. 15th.
2. *Médailles du Comte Jean de Tilly. Tirage à part.* By M. le Baron de Köhne. From the Author.
3. *Luoghi notevoli di Tertulliano dichiarati co' Riscontri de' Monumenti Antichi*, by M. Celestino Cavedoni. From the Author.
4. *Führer in dem Museum des Vereins zur Erforschung rheinischer Geschichte und Alterthümer im Mainz.* 1865.
5. *Bulletins des Séances de la classe des Sciences.* 1863. From the Académie Royale de Belgique.
6. *Annuaire de l'Académie Royale de Belgique.* 1864. From the same.

Mr. C. Roach Smith exhibited impressions of a third-brass coin of Carus, found near Walton, Norfolk. It was silvered, and had gold rings inserted through it, probably indicating its having been used as a Saxon ornament.

Mr. Arnold exhibited some Paduan forgeries—one a mould or bronze die for a medallion of Lucius Verus; a medallion of Dido; and the mould of its obverse. The medallion of Dido bears on the obverse her bust to the right, her hair plaited, but with long tresses on her neck. The legend is ΔΙΔΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ. On the reverse is a walled town, representing Carthage, with water and ships in front. In the *exergue* ΚΑΡΧΗΔΩΝ. This medallion is engraved in Patin's "*Suetonius*," p. 311, with a *cave* to the reader not to take it for an ancient coin, "*figmentum est eruditi sculptoris Itali*." Mr. Arnold also exhibited a dollar of John George II. of Saxony. On the obverse is the Elector on horseback to the right, and the legend DEO ET PATRIÆ, 1657, and there is a long list of his titles on the reverse. A curious circumstance connected with this coin is, that the obverse die, as originally engraved, had DEO behind the horse, and this being considered irreverent, it was re-engraved with the legend differently arranged, and the first issue called in.

Mr. Vaux read a paper by himself, "*On the Eccles Find*," in which he gave full details of the remarkable find of coins

which took place on Aug. 11, 1864, in the parish of Eccles, near Manchester. This paper is printed in full in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. v. p. 219.

MARCH 16, 1865.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table ;—

1. Photographic Journal, No. 155, March 16.
2. Bronze Medal commemorating the public entry into the city of London of H.R.H. the Princess Alexandra, 9th March, 1863. From the Corporation of London.
3. Numismatiques Mérovingiennes, études sur les Monnoyers, les noms de lieux et la fabrication de la monnaie. By M. Anatole de Barthélemy. 1865. From the author.
4. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. X^e Série. Années 1862, 1863, 1864. From the Society.
5. Notices on the Life and Writings of Carl Christian Rafn. 1864. From the Geographical Society.
6. Proceedings of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, vol. iv., N.S. July, 1864. No. 45. From the Society.

Mr. Webster exhibited six nobles of Henry V. and VI., with various slight peculiarities in the legends and types. The most remarkable was one which might probably be referred to the last coinage of Henry VI., on account of the great similarity of the portrait and general character of the obverse to that of the excessively rare nobles of the first coinage of Edward IV. It is remarkable that the H in the centre of the reverse is upside down, and that the same is the case with the die from which the reverse of the nobles of Edward IV. were

struck, an E having however been punched in over the H. (See Numismatic Chronicle, vol. v. p. 174).

Mr. Evans exhibited a third-brass coin of Diocletian, found in Hertfordshire, and struck under Carausius at London. The reverse legend is PAX AVGGG, the three G's of which allude to Carausius, Diocletian, and Maximian. In the *exergue* are the letters M.L.XXI., and in the *field* S. P.

Mr. Vaux exhibited thirty milled sixpences of Elizabeth, found by Gen. Sir Thomas Phillips at Peshawur, in the Punjab. It is curious that there is a tradition on the spot of an Englishman having been murdered at that place about 250 years ago.

Mr. Farrar, M.P., sent for exhibition some Roman coins found at Chedworth Wood, near Foss Bridge, Gloucestershire, on the site of a Roman villa. Of these Mr. Madden gave a short account. They consisted of coins of Antoninus Pius, Victorinus, Tetricus, Allectus, Constantius Chlorus, Constantine I. and II., Constantius II., Magnentius, and Valentinian I. One of the coins of Allectus is remarkably fine, and of larger module than ordinary. (See Numismatic Chronicle, vol. v. p. 175).

Mr. Madden read a letter from the Rev. J. G. Joyce, relative to finds of coins at the excavations now being carried on at Silchester; they usually consist of coins of Diocletian, Maximian, and the Constantine period, the most interesting at present found being two of Carausius, one of which, with the obverse legend VIRTVS CARAVSI AVG, and the helmeted bust to the left, though already known, is still of great rarity. The other has the legend PAX AVGGG on the reverse, the same as on the coin of Diocletian before described.

The Rev. A. Pownall exhibited a portion of a find of fifteenth-century groats, which were discovered in an earthen jug in the village of Clay Coton, on the borders of Northamptonshire. Mr. Pownall also read a paper giving a description of the hoard, which consisted of coins of Henry VI., Edward IV.

and V., Richard III., and Henry VII., the bulk being those of Edward IV., and including coins struck at London, York, Coventry, Bristol, Norwich, Dublin, and Drogheda, with every well-recognised mint-mark. A single specimen from the London mint bears the m.m. of the fleur-de-lys, which, though common enough on York coins, has not before been noticed on any of London. There were in the hoard seven of the groats with the name of Edward, but with the m.m. of the rose and sun united, as used under Richard III., and which are therefore assigned to Edward V. The groats of Richard III. were sixteen in number, and there were seven of the rare first coinage of Henry VII., with the open crown, and thirteen of his second coinage. The total number of groats in the hoard was 433. Mr. Pownall directed attention to the numerous minute differences in the mint-marks and symbols on the coins of the period of English history represented by this find, and suggested their being made the subject of more careful study than has hitherto been accorded to them.

APRIL 20, 1865.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

W. Stavenhagen Jones, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table:—

1. *Le Principali Questioni Riguardanti la Numismatica Giudaica diffinitivamente decise.* By C. Cavedoni. From the Author.

2. *La Numismatique en 1863.* Paris. 8vo. 1864. By M. Anatole de Barthélemy. From the Author.

3. *Photographic Journal.* No. 156. April 15th.

Mr. Evans exhibited a small collection of Roman gold coins in fine preservation. Among them were *aurei* of Vitellius, Plotina, Lucilla, Pertinax, Severus, Elagabalus, Tacitus, and Maximinus Daza. The most remarkable was a coin of Geta, with the reverse NOBILITAS, which, though well known in silver, had not before been observed in gold.

He also exhibited a very fine specimen of the rare Felicitas Britanniae medallion, struck in honour of the Restoration of Charles II., May 29, 1660; and a bank-note of the New United States Fractional Currency, for three cents.

Mr. Wintle exhibited a square silver rupee of Akhbar, struck A.H. 987, and an early Indian coin, probably struck in imitation of a Greek coin, of the period when the square lower die had usually a cruciform ornament upon it.

Mr. Vaux, referring to the discovery at Peshawur of a number of milled sixpences of Elizabeth, some of which were exhibited at the last meeting of the Society, mentioned that General Sir Thomas Phillips had in his possession a model of the tomb of the Englishman who was murdered at that place early in the seventeenth century, and who was probably the original owner of the coins.

Mr. Edward Rapp, of Bonn, communicated some remarks upon the denarius bearing the head of Sertorius, and on the reverse, his fawn, with the legend PROVIDEN. MILITAR., a coin which, though usually considered a modern fabrication, he was inclined to regard as possibly genuine, notwithstanding the apparent anachronisms in its types and legends. Mr. Madden has since seen this coin, and thinks that there is a possibility of it being a restoration of the Galba period, but even this is not certain, as the coin is not satisfactory at the first *coup d'œil*.

The Rev. J. H. Pollexfen communicated a letter from Mr. Lindsay, of Cork, accepting the proposed attribution of certain coins to David I. of Scotland, which had been engraved in Mr. Lindsay's "Coinage of Scotland" as being of Alexander I.,

a mis-attribution, such as the barbarous character of the legends on the Scottish coins of that period renders most excusable, when but two or three specimens of the type are known.

MAY 18, 1865.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table:—

1. *Revue Numismatique Belge*, vol. iii., 1^{re} livraison. From the Society.

2. *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 1^{re} trimestre, 1865. From the Society.

3. *Photographic Journal*, No. 157. May 15.

4. *Manual of Roman coins*, by W. B. London 8vo., Johnstone, 1865. From the Publisher.

Mr. W. Allen exhibited four copper medalets of the old Pretender, which had formed part of a hoard of about 600, found in the cellar wall of a house near Smithfield, which was pulled down to make room for the Metropolitan Railway. All the medalets bear upon them the youthful head of the supposed son of James II., with the legend JAC. WALLIÆ PRINCEPS. The reverse legends of the four varieties are as follows:—QVO COMPRESSA MAGIS—CLARIOR E TENEBRIS—OMNIA FACIT IPSE SERENA, and MANSVRÆ NVNTIA PACIS. The date on all is 1697, and the dies bear the initials N.R., showing that they were engraved by Nicholas Roettier.

Mr. R. A. Jamieson communicated a note "On the coinage of the Taiping or Great Peace Dynasty" of China.

Mr. Evans communicated a paper on the coins of Jaenberht

and Æthilheard, Archbishops of Canterbury, more particularly calling attention to two coins presenting slight differences from the coins already published. This paper is printed in full in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. v., p. 351.

JUNE 15, 1865.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following report of the Council was read to the meeting :—

GENTLEMEN,—In obedience to the usual custom of this Society, the Council have the honour to lay before you their Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society, at this, another Anniversary Meeting. The Council have to announce their loss, by *death*, of the three following members :—

The Ven. Archdeacon Burney, D.D.

Professor W. Ramsay.

His Grace the Duke of Northumberland.

The first gentleman being one of our original members, and the third an honorary member for many years.¹

¹ Since writing this we learn that Herr Christian Jurgensen Thomsen, Director of the Museum of Antiquities, of the Ethnological Museum, and of the Cabinet of Medals, at Copenhagen, has expired at the advanced age of 80. Also, to our great regret, we record the death of Monsignor Abbate D. Celestino Cavedoni, Bibliotecario della R. Palatina and Dir. del Cab. Numism., at Modena. He was buried at Modena on the 28th of November. We hope to give an account of the writings of both these numismatists in our next Annual Report.

Also they have to record the loss by resignation of—

Lady Ashburton.

The Lord Bishop of Jerusalem.

Rev. Douglas Veitch, M.A.

Thomas Venables, Esq.

On the other hand they have much pleasure in recording the election of the nine following members :—

Cecil Brent, Esq.

Arthur Coombs, Esq., M.A.

S. F. Corkran, Esq.

T. D. E. Gunston, Esq.

W. S. Jones, Esq.

T. W. U. Robinson, Esq.

J. W. Roughton, Esq.

Samuel Smith, Esq.

Captain Stubbs, R.H.A.

And of the two following honorary members :—

M. J. P. Six, of Amsterdam.

Dr. Alexandre Colson, of Noyon (France).

According to our Secretary's Report, our numbers are as follows :—

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Total.
Members, June, 1864	9	110	39 ¹	158
Since elected	—	9	2	11
	9	119	41	169
Deceased	1	1	1	3
Resigned	—	4	—	4
Members, June, 1865	8	114	40	162

¹ I am indebted to the Baron de Köhne for pointing out that the five gentlemen whose names are omitted in the list of the present year have been for some time dead.—F. W. M.

A brief notice of those whom we have lost will not, we think, be inappropriate.

The Venerable Archdeacon Charles Parr Burney, D.D., Archdeacon of Colchester and Rector of Wickham Bishops, Essex, died at Brighton, November 1, 1864, in the 80th year of his age.

Dr. Burney was the grandson of Charles Burney, Doctor of Music, so well known for his "History of Music," and the son of the Rev. Charles Burney, D.D., an excellent Greek scholar, whose valuable collection of ancient authors was purchased for the British Museum by a special parliamentary grant. Miss Burney (afterwards Madame d'Arblay) was his aunt, and Rear-Admiral James Burney, who accompanied Captain Cook in his last two voyages round the world, and who wrote several volumes of voyages, was his father's half-brother. Dr. Burney was born at Chiswick on the 19th of October, 1785, and eventually became a member of Merton College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. 1808, M.A. 1811, B. and D.D. 1822. In 1807 his name appears in the list of second-class men, and in 1809 he obtained the Chancellor's prize for an English essay on "The Love of our Country."

In early life Dr. Burney assisted his father in the management of a private school at Greenwich, which, after his father's retirement, he conducted alone. In March, 1838, he was presented to the Rectory of Sible Hedingham, in Essex, which he held till 1848, when he resigned it to the son of his predecessor. In 1840 the Bishop of London appointed him to the Archdeaconry of St. Albans; but in 1845 transferred him to that of Colchester, vacant by the death of the Rev. Sir Herbert Oakley, Bart.

Archdeacon Burney married, December 24, 1810, Frances Bentley, second daughter of George Young, Esq., of Blackheath, and by this lady, who survives him, he had two sons and four daughters. Dr. Burney was specially admired for his kindness and unbounded generosity. We may mention the

free gift of £6,000 for the purpose of establishing a Clergy Relief Fund for his diocese, and a further sum of £2,000 towards the endowment of poor parishes. It was a popular phrase in his archdeaconry, when any one was soliciting funds for any good object, to say, "I am ashamed to beg of the archdeacon; he always gives double what I ask." It was also said of him, with reference to his father and his godfather (Dr. Parr), that as a Greek scholar he was decidedly *above par*.

Dr. Burney was a Fellow of the Royal, the Antiquarian and Geological Societies, the Royal Society of Literature, the Numismatic, and several other societies.

For the account of Professor Ramsay we are indebted to the *Edinburgh Courant* :—

William Ramsay, for more than thirty years Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow, died at San Remo, near Mentone, on Sunday morning, the 12th of February, soon after entering his 60th year. Mr. Ramsay's health had been been for a long time in an unsatisfactory condition. Ever since his severe illness in 1851 his right lung had been of little or no service to him, and the consequent disorder had caused displacement of the heart, which organ had, doubtless, also become enlarged. It autumn last he was attacked by severe fits of breathlessness, and it soon became evident that his intention of passing the winter in London must be abandoned. He went away to Mentone, where all the symptoms grew worse. He got little or no sleep, lost weight rapidly, and was unable to take any exercise at all. A change from Mentone to San Remo failed to arrest this course of things, and the end came—suddenly at last, though without pain, on the morning of the 12th. Mr. Ramsay was the descendant of a family of great antiquity in Perthshire. For six centuries at least the Ramsays of Banff have held land in the south-eastern corner of that county. Sir Gilbert Ramsay, of Banff, was created a baronet in 1666, and from this gentleman the late Professor, a third son of Sir

William, the seventh baronet, was lineally descended. Born at Edinburgh in February, 1806, he received his first education at the High School during the rectorship of Mr. Pillans. He also attended the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, from the last of which he proceeded to Cambridge. He was still an undergraduate at Cambridge, when he undertook the duties of the Glasgow Mathematical Chair, which he discharged for two years. In 1830 he graduated at Cambridge, and in 1831 he was chosen to succeed Mr. Walker as Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. It was during his long tenure of that office that his chief influence was exercised, and his reputation as a scholar acquired. In 1840 appeared his "Extracts from Tibullus and Ovid;" in 1851 his "Roman Antiquities;" in 1858 his edition of the "Pro Cluentio;" and soon afterwards an enlarged edition of his "Manual of Latin Prosody." Most of these works have been widely circulated; all are executed with an admirable completeness, neatness, and finish, and are used as text-books by the best schoolmasters. But the literary power in its highest sense of Professor Ramsay is seen to greatest effect in the biographies which he contributed to the well-known dictionaries bearing the name of Dr. William Smith. His "Cicero," for instance, is a masterpiece of lucid and vigorous narrative and disquisition. Mr. Ramsay resigned his chair in May, 1863, amid expressions of admiration and regret from his colleagues, which touched him deeply, and passed the following winter in Rome, with which city he was previously well acquainted. He employed himself there in collating the most important MSS. of Plautus, an author on whom he had long laboured. His "Prolegomena," and his text of some portions of "Plautus," must, we think, be ready, or nearly so, and will, we hope, be given to the world by the nephew who succeeded him in the Glasgow chair. But, undoubtedly, his ill-health and death have deprived us of much important work that he was quite ready to execute under favourable conditions. Enough remains, however, to secure him a permanent place among the

scholars of this age, and Scotsmen will long remember with pride and pleasure the name of a man who has helped to keep alive the ancient literary glory of the land of Buchanan.

The Duke of Northumberland, K.G., expired at forty minutes past two o'clock on Sunday morning, the 12th of February, at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, in the seventy-third year of his age, having been for some time past a sad sufferer from attacks of gout. His death, however, was quite unexpected. The late Right Hon. Algernon Percy, Duke of Northumberland, &c., was the youngest son of Hugh, the second duke, by his second wife, Frances, third daughter of Mr. Peter Burrell, and was born in December, 1792; consequently he was aged seventy-two. He married in August, 1842, Lady Eleanor, eldest daughter of the Marquis of Westminster. In early life he entered the navy, and obtained his rank of post-captain in 1815. He saw, during the ten years he was in the service, considerable active duty in the Mediterranean; but after obtaining his rank as captain he relinquished the profession. In the year following—namely, 1816—he was created a peer by the title of Baron Prudhoe, of Prudhoe Castle, and sat in the House of Lords as such till he succeeded his brother, the third duke, in February, 1847; and, strange to state, had enjoyed the dukedom exactly eighteen years to the day, his brother having died on the eleventh of that month. The late duke, shortly after leaving the navy, devoted himself to travel, and with his friend, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, passed some time in Egypt and the Holy Land. In 1852, on the Earl of Derby being called upon to form an Administration, the late duke consented to accept office as First Lord of the Admiralty, and was sworn in a member of her Majesty's Privy Council. He remained in the Cabinet until the Derby Government broke up, in December, 1852. He was created a Knight of the Garter in the same year. The late duke was Constable of Launceston Castle, a trustee of the British Museum, President of the Royal

United Service Institution, President of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, a Fellow of the Royal Society, President of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, and several other learned bodies. He was President of Westminster Hospital, President of Middlesex Hospital, as well as a liberal supporter of Charing-cross Hospital, the Seamen's Hospital Society, and many other charitable institutions in the metropolis, besides the local charities on his extensive estates in the north of England.

The Duke's possessions in Northumberland comprised 3,000 acres of woodlands, 116,200 acres of hill pasture, grass-lands, &c., 38,900 acres of tillage occupation, and 4,700 waste, sea-shore, rock, &c.; in all, 162,800 acres. During his occupancy his Grace, down to the 1st of January, 1864, had expended £39,689 in roads and bridges, £308,336 12s. 9d. in building cottages, &c., and £176,582 4s. in drainage upon his vast estates. 35,203 acres of land have been thoroughly drained, and upwards of 1,000 cottages have been either built or put into good repair. While improving the homesteads of his farmers and the cottages of his labourers, the deceased nobleman has expended a quarter of a million sterling upon the Prudhoe Tower and other extensive works at Alnwick Castle; and his great scheme of church extension, just completed before his lamented death, has involved an outlay of £100,000. His Grace was very anxious, when he found his health was failing, to complete a large and magnificent scheme that he had long contemplated, for the education of the children of fishermen and seamen on the coast of Northumberland; and it is stated that the endowment of schools in the villages of Whitley, Tynemouth, Percy Main, and at North Shields, was completed shortly before his death. The Duke of Northumberland built the Tyne Sailors' Home at a cost of upwards of £7,000. He also established lifeboats and lifeboat stations at Hauxley, Tynemouth, Cullercoats, and Newbiggin, and was a magnificent supporter of all the local charities. For many years of his life the Duke took a lively interest in the explorations of the Roman wall which have been undertaken

from time to time. He also spent considerable sums of money in making excavations at Greaves Ash and other old British camps in the fastnesses of the Cheviot Hills. In default of male issue, the ducal honours are inherited by the Earl of Beverley, a son of the second son of Hugh, first Duke of Northumberland, and father of Lord Lovaine, M.P., and Major-General the Hon. Henry Manvers Percy, C.B., late commanding officer at Colchester.

The Council beg to congratulate the Society on the fourth volume of the New Series of the Chronicle, and hope that members will help the Editors by contributing papers.

The report of our Treasurer is as follows :—

The meeting then proceeded to ballot for the officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected:—

President.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.A.S.

Vice-Presidents.

RT. HON. THE EARL OF ENNISKILLEN, Hon. D.C.L.,
F.R.S., F.G.S.

J. B. BERGNE, Esq., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

GEORGE H. VIRTUE, Esq., F.S.A.

Secretaries.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN, Esq., M.R.S.L.

Foreign Secretary.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Librarian.

JOHN WILLIAMS, Esq., F.S.A.

Members of the Council.

THOMAS JAMES ARNOLD, Esq.

REV. PROF. CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., M.R.S.L.

S. BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

F. W. FAIRHOLT, Esq., F.S.A.

W. FREUDENTHAL, Esq.

J. GRANVILLE GRENFELL, Esq., B.A., M.R.S.L.

BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, Esq.

JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S.

REV. ASSHETON POWNALL, M.A., F.S.A.

R. WHITBOURN, Esq., F.S.A.

The Society then adjourned until October 19th, 1865.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OF LONDON,
DECEMBER, 1865.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OF LONDON,
DECEMBER, 1865.

*An Asterisk prefixed to a name indicates that the Member has compounded
for his annual contribution.*

- ALLEN, WILLIAM, ESQ., North Villa, Winchmore Hill, Southgate.
ANDERSON, COLONEL WILLIAM, C.B., 19, Gloucester Square.
ARNOLD, THOMAS JAMES, ESQ., 59, Harley Street.
- *BABINGTON, REV. PROF. CHURCHILL, B.D., M.R.S.L., St. John's
College, Cambridge.
- BAGG, STANLEY C., ESQ., Fairmount Villa, Montreal, Canada.
BARTON, WILLIAM HENRY, ESQ., Royal Mint, Tower Hill.
BAYLEY, E. CLIVE, ESQ., H.E.I.C.S., India.
BERGNE, JOHN B., ESQ., F.S.A., Foreign Office, Downing Street, *Vice-
President.*
- BIRCH, SAMUEL, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A., British Museum.
BOYNE, WILLIAM, ESQ., F.S.A., 4, Lindsey Row, Chelsea.
BRENT, CECIL, ESQ., 7, Albert Street, Mornington Crescent.
BROOKS, G. G., ESQ., 29, Orchard Street, Portman Square.
BROWN, THOMAS, ESQ., 39, Ludgate Street.
BUNBURY, EDWARD H., ESQ., M.A., F.G.S., 35, St. James's Street.
BURNS, EDWARD, ESQ., 13, Bank Street, Edinburgh.
BUSH, COLONEL TOBIN, 14, St. James's Square.
- CANE, HENRY, ESQ., Shackleford, Godalming.
CHAMBERS, MONTAGUE, ESQ., Q.C., Child's Place, Temple Bar.
COOMBS, ARTHUR, ESQ., M.A., High West Street, Dorchester.
CORRAN, SUTTON FRASER, ESQ., British Museum.

*CORNTHWAITHE, REV. TULLIE, Forest, Walthamstow.

COXE, W. H., Esq., F.Z.S., British Museum.

CRUMP, ARTHUR, Esq., Stockholm Bank, Stockholm.

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DAVY, GEORGE BAYNTON, Esq., 18, Sussex Square, Hyde Park.

DICKINSON, W. BINLEY, Esq., 5, Lansdowne Circus, Leamington.

DRYDEN, SIR HENRY, BART., Canon's Ashby, Daventry.

EADES, GEORGE, Esq., Evesham, Worcestershire.

EASTWOOD, GEORGE, Esq., 27, Haymarket.

ENNISKILLEN, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, HON. D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S.,
M.R.I.A., Florence Court, Enniskillen, Ireland, *Vice-President*.

EVANS, JOHN, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead,
and 65, Old Bailey, *Secretary*.

EVANS, SEBASTIAN, Esq., M.A., 145, Highgate, Birmingham.

FAIRHOLT, F. W., Esq., F.S.A., 24, Montpelier Square, Brompton.

FARROW, MORLEY, Esq., M.R.S.L., 23, Clifton Gardens, Maida Hill,
and Bridgewick Hall, Chapel, near Halstead, Essex.

FORSTER, W., Esq., Carlisle.

FOX, GENERAL, Addison Road, Kensington.

FRANKS, AUGUSTUS WOLLASTON, Esq., M.A., Dir. Soc. Ant., British
Museum.

FRASER, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL FREDERICK, Castle Fraser, Aberdeen.

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GREENWELL, REV. WILLIAM, Durham.

GREENFELL, JOHN GRANVILLE, Esq., B.A., M.R.S.L., British Museum.

*GUEST, EDWIN, Esq., LL.D., D.C.L., Master of Caius College, Cam-
bridge.

GUNSTON, T. D. E., Esq., 80, Upper Street, Islington.

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House.

HARFORD, REV. F. K., M.A., F.S.A., 13, Charles Street, Grosvenor
Square.

HARTWRIGHT, JOHN HENRY, Esq., 16A, Terrace, Kennington Park.

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HAY, MAJOR, H.E.I.C.S., Linden Lodge, Loan Head, Edinburgh.

HEAD, BARCLAY VINCENT, Esq., British Museum.

HEWARD, PETER, Esq., Cole Orton, near Ashby de la Zouch.

HOLT, HENRY FREDERIC, Esq., 6, King's Road, Clapham Park.

HUNT, JOHN, Esq., 40, Upper Hyde Park Gardens.

HUNT, J. MORTIMER, Esq., 156, New Bond Street.

JONES, JAMES COVE, Esq., F.S.A., Loxley, Wellesbourne, Warwick.

JONES, W. STAVENHAGEN, Esq., 79½, Gracechurch Street, City.

JOHNSTON, W. H., Esq., St. Antholin's Rectory House, 51, Watling Street, E.C.

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*LAMBERT, GEORGE, Esq., 10, Coventry Street.

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*LEE, JOHN, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., &c., Hartwell House, near Aylesbury, Bucks.

LIDDERDALE, E. K., Esq., St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

LINCOLN, FREDERICK W., Esq., 462, New Oxford Street.

LOEWE, DR. L., M.R.A.S., 46, Buckingham Place, Brighton.

LONGSTAFFE, W. HYLTON DYER, Esq., 3, Ravensworth Terrace, Gateshead.

MADDEN, FREDERIC WILLIAM, Esq., M.R.S.L., British Museum, *Secretary*.

MARSDEN, REV. J. H., B.D., Great Oakley Rectory, Harwich, Essex.

MAYER, JOS., Esq., F.S.A., Lord Street, Liverpool.

MEASON, REV. HENRY, Vicarage, Kingston-upon-Thames.

MIDDLETON, SIR GEORGE N. BROKE, BART., C.B., Shrubland Park and Broke Hall, Suffolk.

MOORE, GENERAL, Junior U.S. Club.

MURCHISON, CAPTAIN, R.M., Bath.

MUSGRAVE, SIR GEORGE, BART., F.S.A., Eden Hall, Penrith.

NECK, J. F., Esq., Hereford Chambers, 10, Hereford Street, Park Lane.

NICHOLS, J. GOUGH, Esq., F.S.A., 25, Parliament Street.
 NICHOLSON, REV. H. J. BOONE, D.D., F.S.A., Rectory, St. Alban's.
 NORRIS, EDWIN, Esq., F.S.A., 6, St. Michael's Grove, Brompton.

OLDFIELD, EDMUND, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 61, Pall Mall.

*PERRY, MARTEN, Esq., M.D., &c., &c., Evesham, Worcestershire.
 PFISTER, JOHN GEORGE, Esq., British Museum.
 POLLEXFEN, REV. J. H., M.A., St. Mary's Terrace, Colchester.
 POOLE, REGINALD STUART, Esq., M.R.S.L., British Museum.
 POWELL, EDWARD JOS., Esq., 8, Gordon Street, Gordon Square.
 POWNALL, REV. ASSHETON, M.A., F.S.A., South Kilworth, Rugby.
 PRICE, W. LAKE, Esq., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Hyde Park.
 PULLAN, RICHARD, Esq., M.R.I.B.A., 15, Clifford's Inn.

RASHLEIGH, JONATHAN, Esq., 3, Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park.
 RAWLINSON, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY C., K.C.B., M.P., HON.
 D.C.L., F.R.S., 1, Hill Street, Berkeley Square.

*READE, REV. J. B., F.R.S., Bishopsbourne Rectory, Canterbury.
 ROBINSON, T. W. U., Esq., Houghton-le-Spring, Durham.
 ROLFE, H. W., Esq., 3, Punderson Place, Bethnal Green Road.
 ROSTRON, SIMPSON, Esq., 4, King's Bench Walk, Temple.
 ROUGHTON, J. W., Esq., 9, Bedford Place, Russell Square.

SALIS, J. F. W. DE, Esq., Hillingdon Place, Uxbridge.
 SCOTT, ALWYNE GILBERT, Esq., Manor House, Ham, Surrey.
 SHARP, SAMUEL, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., Dallington Hall, Northampton.
 SIM, GEORGE, Esq., F.S.A.E., 7, Cambridge Street, Edinburgh.
 SMALLFIELD, J. S., Esq., 10, Little Queen Street.
 SMITH, SAMUEL, Esq., Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire.
 SOTHEBY, MRS. LEIGH, Ivy House, Malden, Kingston, Surrey.
 SPENCE, ROBERT, Esq., 4, Rosella Place, North Shields.
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